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The Select Works
of
Robert Crowley,

Printer, Archdeacon of Hereford (1559-1567),
Vicar of St Lawrence, Jewry, &c. &c.

NAMELY, HIS

EPIGRAMS, A.D. 1550; VOYCE OF THE LAST TRUMPET, A.D. 1550;
PLEASURE AND PAYNE, A.D. 1551; WAY TO WEALTH, A.D. 1550;
AN INFORMACION AND PETICION.

—♦—

EDITED

With Introduction, Notes, and Glossary,

BY

J. M. COWPER,

EDITOR OF 'ENGLAND IN THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,'

'THE TIMES,' 'WHISTLE,' &C.

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XV.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

TO

My Sister Liz,

OF OLYRO, RADNORSHIRE,

I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME OF THE WORKS

OF THE OLD

ARCHDEACON OF HEREFORD.

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INTRODUCTION.

ROBERT CROLE, Croleus, Crowlæus, or Crowley, is said to have been born in Gloucestershire, but the place of his birth and the condition of his parents are alike involved in obscurity. In or about the year 1534 he entered the University of Oxford and soon became a demy of Magdalene College. In 1542, having taken his degree of B.A., he was made a probationer-fellow. In 1549 he commenced printing in London, and carried on the business for about three years, the latest production of his press bearing date 1551.¹ His printing he carried on in Ely Rents, Holborn, where he earned the honour of being the first to print and publish "The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman," three different impressions of which were issued by Crowley in 1550.²

But printing did not absorb the whole of Crowley's energies. To his labours in disseminating knowledge by means of the press, he added the not less important—perhaps in his day, when books were dear and readers comparatively scarce, the more important—work of preaching in London and elsewhere, having been ordained a deacon by Ridley on 29th Sep. 1551.³

As soon as Mary succeeded to the throne of her brother, Crowley, with other English Protestants, retired to Frankfort, where they remained till her death rendered it safe for them to return to this country. Crowley's popularity as a preacher soon brought him into notice. In 1559 he was admitted to the Archdeaconry of Hereford,

¹ Collier, *Bib. Cat.* i. 489.

² *The Vision*, etc., ed. Skeat, xxxi.

³ In Ridley's register Crowley is styled Stationer of the parish of St Andrew, Holborn. *Machyn's Diary*, Camd. Soc., n. p. 376.

and in the following year he was instituted to the Stall or Prebend of "Pratum Majus" in the Cathedral of that city.¹ On the 19th October, 1559, and again on the 31st March, 1561, he was the Preacher at Paul's Cross, and about this time he was parson of St Peter the Poor.²

In 1563 he was collated to the prebend of Mora in the Cathedral of St Paul, but was deprived in 1565.³ In the following year he held the Vicarage of St Giles's, Cripplegate, of which he was deprived and prohibited from preaching or ministering the Sacraments within twenty miles of London. The causes which led to his deprivation are found in Abp Parker's Correspondence with Cecil,⁴ from which it appears that Crowley and his curate expelled from the church divers clerks who were there in their surplices to bury a dead body. The clerks alleged that it was the custom, and that "my Lord of London" had commanded them to wear surplices within the churches. This gave rise to some tumult, and when Crowley appeared before Parker to answer for his behaviour, his conduct was such that the Archbishop "could do no less" than order him to be imprisoned in his own house. The Lord Mayor, too, lodged a complaint against Crowley, who answered "that he would not suffer the wolf"—"meaning the surplice man"—to come to his flock. This led to his further committal, and a Mr Bickley was sent to preach in his parish. In the further examination of Crowley it appears that he quarrelled with the singing men about their "porters' coats," that he said he would set them fast by the feet if they would break the peace, that he gave utterance to many "fond paradoxes that tended to Anabaptistical opinions, that he would preach until deprived, and that he would be deprived by order of the law." "But I dulled his glory," says Parker, who thought the suspension and secret prison would prove "some terror." In 1567 he is reported to have said that "he would not be persuaded to minister

¹ For the dates referring to Hereford, I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. F. P. Havergal of the College, Hereford. To him my best thanks are due for his prompt attention to my letters on this subject.

² *Zurich Letters*, 2nd Series, 147, n. 6, Park. Soc. See also *Machyn's Diary*, pp. 215, 229.

³ Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.

⁴ *Parker's Correspondence*, Parker Society, pp. 275—278.

in those conjuring garments of popery," meaning the surplice, which seems to have been the cause of as much bickering three hundred years ago as it is now.¹

During his suspension he was ordered to remain with the Bishop of Ely, but after a time he was permitted to return to London for twelve days that he might put his household affairs in order, "provided always that during the time of his abode in London, he do not privily nor publicly preach, read, nor minister the Sacraments," except licensed so to do by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. In 1567 he resigned his Archdeaconry, and in the next year (1568) he was succeeded in his prebendal stall in Hereford Cathedral by another clerk. On the 5th May, 1576, Crowley was collated to the Vicarage of St Lawrence, Jewry,² but this he resigned in 1578.³ In 1580 he was appointed with another to confer with the Romanists confined in the Marshalsea and White Lion in Southwark. One of the prisoners "pulled a pamphlet out of his bosom, read it, and delivered it" to Crowley to be answered. The pamphlet was entitled "Six Reasons set down to show that it is no orderly way in controversies of faith to appeal to be tried only by the Scriptures (as the absurd opinion of all the Sectaries is), but the Sentence and Definition of the Catholic Church," etc. To this "I drew up," says Crowley, "an answer now published the 6th of January," 1580-1, entitled "An Answer to Six Reasons," etc.⁴

A Puritan of the narrowest school, he was constantly engaged in controversies upon religious matters, and his zeal in this respect must have been a sore trial to the Bishops. "His pulpit and his press," says Warton,⁵ "those two prolific sources of faction, happily co-operated in propagating his principles of predestination: and his shop and his sermons were alike frequented. Possessed of those talents which qualified him for captivating the attention and moving the passions of the multitude, under Queen Elizabeth he held many

¹ Remains of Abp Grindal. Parker Society, p. 211.

² Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.

³ T. Corser, *Collect. Ang. Poet.*, pt iv. p. 540.

⁴ Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.

⁵ *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, iii. 187. But Warton was not quite right, for it seems Crowley left off printing about the time of his ordination.

dignities in a Church whose doctrines and polity his undiscerning zeal had a tendency to destroy." He seems to have preached anywhere, under any circumstances; at one time before Bonner's prison door, when the haughty prelate was confined in the Marshalsea,¹ at other times at Paul's Cross, as we have seen above; now to a "grett audyens" at a funeral, and soon after at Bow on occasion of the marriage of "Master Starke to the dowthur of Master Allen."² He closed his long and active but stormy career in 1588, when about 70 years of age, and was buried in the church of St Giles,³ Cripplegate, of which, two and twenty years before, he had been vicar.

For further particulars of Crowley and references to him and his works, the reader may consult Lansd. MSS. 9 ff. 157—162; Ib. 982, ff. 94, 104; *Writings of Bradford*, Parker Society, ii. 207, n. 3; *Tyndale's Answer to More*, etc., Parker Society, p. 220; *Fulke's Answers*, Parker Society, p. 3; Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. pt 2, pp. 465—472; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*; Warton's *Hist. Eng. Poetry*; Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, p. 210; Herbert's *Ames*, p. 757; Collier's *Bib. Cat.* i. 489; Skeat's Intro. to the V. of P. the Plowman; W. Carew Hazlitt's Hand-Book; and Corser's *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, pt iv.

To give a mere outline of the numerous Pamphlets, Sermons, Answers, &c., which came from Crowley's pen would occupy more space than I have at my command, and more time than I should care to give. Those who are desirous to know more than this brief Introduction contains will find their labours somewhat lightened by the references to books given above.

The Five Tracts printed in this volume are thought to be the most interesting as they are the most valuable, historically speaking, of the old Puritan's writings. Laying aside, as much as such a man could lay aside, his controversial nature in these, he deals with the faults, the weaknesses, the trials, the wrongs, the foolishnesses of his countrymen, and causes the different classes of men to stand and live before us.

¹ T. Corser, *Collect. Ang. Poet.*, pt iv. p. 540.

² See *Machyn's Diary*, Camd. Soc. pp. 269, 278, 295, 311.

³ His Epitaph is given in Dibdin's *Herbert's Ames*, iv. 326, note—

"Here lieth the body of Robert Crowley Clerk, vicar of this Parish, who departed this Life the 18th daie of June Anno Dni, 1588."

Taking these tracts in the order in which they stand in this volume we have—

(1.) *One and Thyrtye Epigrammes, wherein are bryefly touched so many Abuses that maye and ought to be put away.* 1550.

These Epigrams were thought to be lost. Even the indefatigable W. Carew Hazlitt did not know of a copy, and they were chiefly remembered from fifteen quoted by Strype.¹ But Mr Furnivall was fortunate enough to discover a copy in the Cambridge University Library.² This is the only copy which is known to be in existence.

Why "one and thirty" it is difficult to say, as there are "three and thirty" in addition to "The Boke to the Reader." First the Abbeyes come under notice, and the writer could not fail to see what an opportunity had been lost for restoring them to their original purposes as fountains of learning and of relief to the poor and needy. We all know how Henry laid his iron grasp on the property of the Religious Houses, and how he was encouraged in his evil designs by the crowd of sycophants who hoped, and not in vain, that some of the crumbs which fell from him might drop into their laps. The simple people, encouraged with the prospect of seeing better days, acquiesced in the spoliation, and saw, when too late, how they had been deprived of their birthright without the poor consolation of the "mess of pottage" which is usually the reward of men who barter away that which their fathers have painfully gained.³ The poor expected to profit by the suppression of the Abbeyes, but how their hopes were dashed has been already pointed out.⁴

The alleys of two kinds, the bowling alleys and the alleys in which the hordes of miserable wretches, driven from their homes in

¹ *Ecc. Mem.* ii. pt 2, p. 465—472. The fifteen quoted by Strype are those commencing on pages 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 20, 27, 33, 43, 45, 47, 48, and 49.

² The proofs have been read with the original by Mr D. Hall of Cambridge.

³ For valuable information on the purposes of endowments the reader is referred to Mr Toulmin Smith's *The Parish*, 2nd ed. 1857, pp. 28, 30, 95, 597—604. For directing my attention to this work, and for the loan of a copy, as well as for other valuable aid, I have to tender my best thanks to Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith.

⁴ See *A Supplication of the Poore Commons* in "Four Supplications," ed. Furnivall and Cowper, pp. 79, 80; *Westminster Review*, No. lxxvii, January, 1871, p. 101; and the *Complaynt of Roderyck Mors*, to be edited for this Series.

the country to beg their daily bread in London, sheltered themselves at night, present a picture of London life not yet extinct. Then it must have been horrible. It is curious to notice how long it takes to remove what all men are willing to acknowledge abuses. The streets of London at that time were little better, perhaps no better, than narrow lanes, undrained, often unpaved, unlighted, and the nightly receptacles of filth of all kinds. Now our streets are better. We strike out a new street through the most densely populated districts, such as Tothill Fields, Westminster, and we build a row of magnificent houses on each side. We let in the light, but do we care to follow with our eyes the darkness which has been made more dark? Do we care to inquire what becomes of the thousands who, thronging the district before, are now compelled to huddle more closely than ever, inasmuch as, while their numbers are ever on the increase, the space allowed for them is diminished? Until we provide homes for the poor who are to be unhoused, before we make these gigantic improvements, we are far from acting up to our convictions and our knowledge.¹

But moralizing is not our duty—we can see with our own eyes the bawds, the beggars, honest and dishonest; the swearers we can hear, the drunkards, the liars, the gamblers, the flatterers, the fools, the godless, the idle—many from necessity, not a few from choice; the “inventors of strange news,” the men who hold divers offices—the “double-beneficed men,” who, in our day, are not so often found in the ranks of the clergy as they are in the ranks of the army, where nothing seems more common than “double benefices,” one civil, the other military; the “nice” women with their hair dyed and laid out in “tussocks as big as a ball;” the vain writers, the vain talkers, and vain hearers, how they all stand forth in our own day, more refined, changed in dress, changed in manners, but how like! Are we *much* better than those whom Crowley sketched upwards of three hundred years ago? Let the reader read and judge.²

(2.) *The Voyce of the Last Trumpet callyng al estates of*

¹ See note, p. xxiv.

² For the condition of Scotland about this time refer to Mr Furnivall's Preface to *The Minor Poems of William Lauder*, E. E. T. S., 1870.

men to the ryght path of theyr vocation, etc., printed in 1550, is a kind of metrical sermon containing twelve lessons addressed "to twelve several estates of men." Wood¹ says, "The said [John] Plough also wrote . . . The Sound of the Doleful Trumpet"—but when or where it was printed "I cannot tell, for I have not seen" it. I do not find the name of Plough in Bohn's *Lowndes*. The title given by Wood sounds very much like our "Voice of the Last Trumpet."

The unique copy which we have used was kindly placed at the disposal of the E. E. T. S. by Mr F. S. Ellis, of 33, King Street, Covent Garden, in whose possession it was, but it has since been purchased for the British Museum. The edges have been cut and many of the references to texts of Holy Writ destroyed. These I have supplied as nearly as I could, denoting letters and numerals so supplied by placing them in brackets. Sometimes the reader may doubt the accuracy of my references, and I shall not be surprised, for I am by no means convinced that I have given those which were lost. The vagueness of some of them, and the fact that they were taken from an early version of the Bible, rendered the task by no means an easy one.

In the "Book to the Reader" Crowley confesses that though he barks at the faults of men, he is unwilling to bite if he can accomplish any good by barking. The aim of the Sermon is to inculcate a spirit of obedience and submission in those who are under subjection, on the principle that "whatever is, is best." In the Epigram on Beggars (p. 14) he would make the lazy work, and he exposes some of their tricks, but here he seems only to deal with those who were beggars by compulsion. There is something of the ludicrous in the tone he assumes towards these poor creatures, but there is no reason to think he was "chaffing" them:—

"Thus leave I thee in thy calling,
Exhorting thee therein to stand;
And doubtless at thy last ending
Thou shalt be crowned at God's hand."—(p. 59.)

The same spirit pervades the Servant's Lesson (p. 59) and the

¹ *Athenæ Oxon.*, fol. 126.

Yeoman's (p. 63). They are to bear all, to do all, and to possess their souls in patience, looking for no change in this world, unless one for the worse! The servant who is "sturdy and does his service with grudging" is promised scourging, drudgery, slavery, and, if he runs away, a worse master than the one he has left. Crowley's advice is excellent, but in the then condition of things "flesh and blood," it is to be feared, often rebelled against it.

The yeoman is to "plow, plant, and sow;" to beware of even the wish to rise; to be charitable and contented. If he dared to hoard up riches, God's wrath was threatened. Hardest of all, if his landlord raised his rent (and how universal the practice!) he was enjoined to pay it, and to pray for his oppressor! The doctrine of absolute submission is taught in all its ugly deformity, with the addition of the divine right of kings.

The unlearned priest (p. 70) is severely handled for his ignorance, his immorality, and his false doctrine. The wide-spread hope that the Mass would be restored is referred to—

"Put not the ignorant in hope,
That they shall see all up again
That hath been brought in by the Pope,
And all the preachers put to pain."

Yet three short years saw "all up again," and the preachers not only put to pain, but Crowley himself fleeing for his life, and "putting the sea between" him and his Queen. But there is one gem of advice, applicable not merely to the unlearned priests of Crowley's time, but to learned and unlearned of all times—

"Be ever doing what thou can,
Teaching or learning some good thing,
And then, like a good Christian,
Thou dost walk forth in thy calling."

The Scholar's Lesson is interesting as giving a glimpse of that muscular education which, as a nation, we are only now beginning to learn afresh. The scholar was to "recreate his mind" by fishing, fowling, hunting, hawking; while trials of strength, skill, speed—still to recreate the mind—were to be made in shooting, bowling, casting the bar, tennis, tossing the ball, and running base like men

of war¹ (p. 73). The whole lesson contains good advice and is quite worthy of its author.

Learned men, it appears, were not faultless. It is implied that they lived dissolutely and needed amendment of life as much as others. They seem to have had failings in the matters of dress, usury, and simony. This Learned Man's Lesson applies to clergy and laity alike.

The physician is severely dealt with. Covetous of gain and ignorant, he neglected the poor for the sake of the rich. A quarter of a century later, in *Newes out of Powles Churchyarde*, there was ground for similar charges. In the *Newes* the physicians are ranked next to the lawyers, and

“*Vnguentum Aureum*, or suchlyke,”²

was required to make them hasten to see their patients. They gained money, but no man knew how they spent it, and no man heard of any good deeds that they did. The Lawyer here follows the physician—generally where any ill was to be said, the lawyer took the lion's share, or, at all events, an equal share with the clergy. Crowley in this lesson taxes them with an insatiable greed, with bawling like beasts, and warns them to assist the poor as well as the rich, to fear no man's power, to do justice to all men, to show no favour. The old charges of bribery are brought against them in the *Newes out of Powles*³ and in the *Times' Whistle*,⁴ but in these two works we get a redeeming feature: *all* are not corrupt:—

“I know, friend Bertulph, some there be
Whose hands regard no need,
Whose hearts dye no deceit at all,
From whom no harms proceed.

¹ Henry VIII., it is said, after his accession to the throne retained the casting of the bar among his favourite amusements. At the commencement of the seventeenth century such athletic games were by no means “besem- ing of nobility.”

Base, or Prisoners' Bars, a game, success in which depended upon the agility and skill in running. The game is still known in Kent under the name of Prisoners' Base. In the reign of Edward III. it was prohibited to be played in the avenues of Westminster Palace. A game exceedingly popular among the young men of this part of Kent, and known as “Goal Running,” seems to be a modification of the ancient game of Base. For further information, see Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*.

² *Newes out of Powles*, &c., Sat. 3 (1576).

³ Sat. 2.

⁴ p. 42.

CROWLEY.

And sure I am when cause of truth
Before such men is tried,
With simple truth they justice yield
And justly do decide."¹

And the *Times' Whistle*:

"And you, which should true equity dispense,
Yet bear a gold-corrupted conscience,
Looke for some plague vpon your heads to light,
That suffer rich wrong to oppresse poore right.
All lawyers I cannot heerof accuse,
For some there are that doe a conscience vse
In their profession. This our land containes
Some in whose heart devine Astræa raignes.
To these, whose vertue keeps our land in peace,
I wish all good, all happines encrease.
Go forward then, and with impartiall hands
Hold iustice ballance in faire Albians lands."²

The Merchant, the Gentleman, and the Magistrate come next in order, the shortcomings of each being pointed out, and the results of their wrong-doing laid before us.

The Woman's Lesson comes last. It is the old, old story—they would talk, dress, dye their hair, paint their faces; they ought to be modest, obedient, industrious, and to see that their children were well brought up, and their servants cared for.

(3.) *Pleasure and Payne*, etc., is dedicated to Lady Dame Elizabeth Fane, wife of Sir Ralph Fane, Knight,³ and from this dedication we learn that Crowley's object in writing this was to cause men "to stay at the least way, and not proceed any further in the inventing of new ways to oppress the poor of this realm, whose oppression doth already cry unto the Lord for vengeance" (p. 108).

My attention was drawn to this "excessively rare metrical tract" by the mention of it in the *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica* of Mr Corser, who was in possession of a copy. Our reprint is taken from a copy

¹ *News out of Powles*, &c., Sat. 2.

² p. 50. For more on lawyers and bribery see my Preface to *England in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, pp. cxv.—cxviii.

³ A Sir Ralph Fane, knight banneret, is mentioned in the Patent Rolls of Edward VI. Crowley was the first Englishman who versified the whole Psalter. In this work he may have been assisted by Lady Elizabeth Fane, for in Dibdin's *Typ. Ant.* iv. 331 n., mention is made of the Lady Elizabeth Fane's 21 *Psalms* and 102 Proverbs. See note, p. xxviii.

in the Bodleian Library.¹ It has been found more convenient to print two lines in one than to follow the original, which runs—

“When Christ shall come
to iuge vs all,
His Fathers frendis
then will he call.”

This alteration of the lines and the revision of the punctuation and the use of capitals are the only liberties which have been taken with the Bodleian copy. And here it may be remarked that, as far as punctuation and the use of capitals are concerned, an endeavour has been made to conform to modern use in the whole of these tracts.²

There is no necessity to enter into any detailed account of subjects dealt with in this tract. The reader who cares to know, and once begins to read it, will not lay it down until he has finished the task.

(4.) *The Way to Wealth, wherein is plainly taught a most present Remedy for Sedicion*,³ is the most important of Crowley's works, inasmuch as it enters more deeply into the causes which led to the disturbances in Edward's days, and the means by which the condition of the poor might be ameliorated—it “holds the candle” to the men who had the power and the will to root up “the stinking weed of Sedition,” which was rapidly spreading its poisonous influences over the land.

It is needless here to go over the history of the country during the twenty years which preceded the appearance of the *Way to Wealth* (1530—1550). The suppression of the abbeys, the casting loose upon the country—often homeless and almost always friendless—the men and women who by their education and living were unfitted to cope with the outer world and earn their daily bread; the grievous disappointment of the many who hoped for some other and better relief than they had obtained from the monks; the cruel spirit of oppression which took possession of the men who reaped

¹ Mr G. Parker read the proofs with the original.

² This modernizing of the punctuation and the making the use of capital letters uniform are the only things to be desired in Mr Arber's most valuable Reprints.

³ From the Bodleian copy. The proofs were read with the original by Mr G. Parker.

the advantage of the change from the old order of things ;—all these may be seen by a reference to books which are in the hands of the readers of these “Texts,” and Mr Furnivall’s *Ballads from Manuscripts*.¹ Still those who have read so far will do well to read with increased care this passionate appeal of the old Puritan, who stands up and boldly rebukes the wrong-doer ; whether he be the king on his throne, or the beggar dying by the wayside of hunger, and disease, and neglect. The farmers, the graziers, the butchers, the lawyers, the merchants, the gentlemen, the knights, the lords—all who lived as “cormorants and gulls,” by the plunder and oppression of the poor and needy—are here called to account, and have their misdeeds placed before them, and the charges which were commonly made against them by the suffering poor proclaimed in powerful language. That Crowley pitied these men, and longed to improve their condition is beyond doubt. But he could see and had the courage to

¹ “It has been already shown that an essential and principal part of the first bestowal and purpose of those endowments which have now become entirely diverted to ecclesiastical purposes, or engrossed by lay impropiators, was the relief of the poor. The task of that relief was thus made a local one ; and it was committed in each place to those who had the two counter checks continually present, of self-interest not to promote or yield to extravagance, and of the continual liability to be presented, by those not then ‘excused,’ for unfaithfulness, if they neglected what true need required.

“Under cover of the ‘Reformation,’ Henry VIII. got to himself a vast proportion of what was thus expressly given in trust for the poor. He got it under false pretences [quotes Coke, 4th Inst. p. 44]. He gave it to his favourites, in breach of honour, honesty, and his pledged faith. This monstrous pillage of the poor, and gross fraud upon the nation, produced an immediate effect. The real and deserving poor, robbed of what was thus from of old set apart to meet their true needs, were flung upon society. Vagrancy had thus everywhere a colourable excuse given to it, and soon largely increased. Instead of the true remedy being applied, and a part of what had been wrongfully misappropriated being restored, a new burthen was cast upon the country for the support of the poor as a class. Thenceforth ‘pauperism’ became a caste in England.

“It is not surprising that, under the anomalous state of things thus arising, anomalies were created in the endeavour to meet it. Acts distinguished by their attempts to keep down the natural fruits of such wrong-doing by force, terror, and barbarity, were passed, altered, and repealed. It was attempted—however paradoxical it may sound—to enforce voluntary alms. Almost the only provision that can be said to be marked by wisdom, is one found in an Act of 27 Henry VIII. cap. 25, which forbade the giving of alms in money, except to the common fund, or ‘Stock,’ of the parish or other place. In the same Act is found the first suggestion as to Overseers,” &c., &c.—*The Parish*, by Toulmin Smith, 2nd edition, p. 144, 145.

declare that, though oppressed and trodden underfoot, they were not free from blame, and he endeavours to soothe their rebellious spirits by reasoning with them and arguing with them, and showing them that their open resistance to authority only put a whip into the hands of the rich who sought excuses for their evil deeds.

Not only were the poor commons pilled and polled by the rich laity, but, worst of all, the reformed clergy, the bishops, deans, archdeacons, canons, parsons, and vicars were intent upon grasping all the wealth within their reach. They ate the fat and decked themselves with the wool, but the simple sheep were left untended and unfed in the wilderness. The sorrowful and sad were left un comforted, the sick unhealed, the broken not bound up, the wanderers unrestored. Churchmen were busy, but it was in obtaining lands for their heirs and fine-fingered ladies, who were clothed in "fine frocks and French hoods," but were naked "of al pointes of honest housewifery." Things were bad enough before the Reformation, and it is no consolation to say so, but surely they must have appeared worse after it, when men had the Bible in their own hands, and were unable to lay all the odium at the door of "the Pope and his shavelings." Religion and the Bible were not to blame for this state of things. Men by a violent effort had shaken off the yoke, and, being free, were ignorant how to use their freedom to the common advantage, and so they used it in oppression and wrong. It had been so before, and it has been so since. The oppressed set free is apt to become the oppressor.

Crowley taxes the curates with having "been the stirrers-up of the simple people in the late tumults," a not unlikely charge to be brought against a body of men who by their virtues and learning had not yet won the esteem of their countrymen. Nor was it unlikely that they did so. The Church, wisely or unwisely, has often had the courage to enter its protest against the oppressions of the mighty, but in this case caution is necessary in accepting the charge as true. Such abject submission as Crowley taught, has, luckily for us, not been common among our religious teachers; if it had our bondage might have been worse than Egyptian.

The whole is a masterly discourse, and will be read with much

interest as a sketch made by an eye-witness of the condition of things described in it.

(5.) *An Informacion and Peticion agaynst the oppressours of the pore Commons of this Realme* is a Petition to the Parliament of Edward VI. Of the many subjects which will have to be discussed, Crowley can see none demanding speedier attention than the oppressions under which the "pore communes" groaned, clergy and laity uniting to inflict the most cruel wrongs. Religious matters too demanded redress, because, while the people were ignorant and superstitious, the clergy were more apt to play the butcher than the shepherd. They abused the rites and sacraments of the Church, using them as matters of merchandise, the clergy of London setting the example.

The possessioners, leasemongers, and landlords, "making the uttermost penny of all their grounds," exacting unreasonable fines, and racking their rents, receive scant mercy at Crowley's hands. It was a time for plain speaking even in the churches, as the following extract from "The Prayer for Landlords," in one of Edward's Liturgies, will show :—

"We heartily pray Thee that they (who possess the grounds, pastures, and dwelling-places of the earth) may not rack and stretch out the rents of their houses and lands, nor yet take unreasonable fines and incomes after the manner of covetous worldlings, but so let them out to others that the inhabitants thereof may both be able to pay the rents and also honestly to live, to nourish their families, and to relieve the poor. . . . Give them grace also that they may be content with that that is sufficient, and not join house to house nor couple land to land to the impoverishment of other, but so behave themselves in letting out their tenements, lands, and pastures, that after this life they may be received into everlasting dwelling-places."

The mischiefs which flowed out of "this more than Turkish tyranny" are graphically described. The honest householders reduced to the condition of menials; the honest matrons to the "needy rock and cards;" the men children of good hope, driven to handicrafts and day labour; the chaste virgins, to marry perpetual poverty, the immodest to Bankside, the stubborn, after a life of crime and misery, to the gallows; the universal destruction which "chances to this noble realm!"

In conclusion, I wish to express my thankfulness that it has fallen to my lot to prepare these Reformation Tracts for the press, however unworthily I may have performed my task. Often disagreeing with the writers, often doubting the truthfulness of the charges brought by foes against foes, I have learnt to receive alike with caution the glowing accounts given by some of the condition of the people, and the crimes and neglect laid at the door of the vanquished by the successful. Robbery and recrimination were all too common. The State plundered the Church, taxing it with every conceivable crime; the rich plundered the poor, charging them with harbouring seditious designs; the Puritan taxed the papist with idleness, ignorance, and immorality, and when he had gained his churches and his tithes, proceeded to open the doors to "seven other spirits," each of which was worse than the one driven out; and the poor man, plundered by all, and suffering from the divisions and quarrels of the classes above him, endured in his own body all the calamities which could befall a man. The times are times we should study, not envy; and if now and again we feel a tingle of shame in our cheeks at what our Protestant forefathers were guilty of in their gigantic work, we may ask ourselves whether, if the task fell to our lot, with all our intelligence and all our enlightenment and all our science, we should have been likely to do it better. They did what they could—imperfectly, with motives and by means which will not always bear examination. Let us be thankful, and do the part which remains to us.

J. M. COWPER.

Davington Hill, Faversham, 1871.

N O T E S.

Sunday drinking, &c., page 9. "What should I tell men in manye words, that which al men see & feele in continual & lamentable experience. Go to alehouses on the Saboth daies, there is as well sold all kinde of loosenesse as vitayles. Go to Greenes, there is myrth that would wounde a Christian mans heart with heauinesse. Goe to Fayres, there is a shewe and traffike, as well of all lewdnesse, as of wares. Yea, goe to all other places, both in City and countrey, and what shall you see, but so many euils that prouoke God, to the powryng forth of most fearefull iudgements, the Theaters, Parish garden, Tauernes, streetes, fieldes, all full and prophanely occupied, and this chiefly on the Saboth day."—*The Vnlawfull Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers*, &c., sig. B. 3, back, ab. 1584. There is a copy of this small work in the Canterbury Cathedral Library, Shelf Mk. Z. 9. 28.

Homes of the Poor, pp. xiv., 10. The following "cuttings" from the *Standard* of April 6 and 7, 1871, are worth preserving. It is only fair to add that "official explanations proved" that the man had no grievance whatever!

"GUILDHALL.

"ATTEMPTED SUICIDE THROUGH THE STRINGENT CITY POLICE REGULATIONS.—*Mary Ann Folkard*, the wife of one of the City police-constables, was charged before Sir Thomas Gabriel with attempting to commit suicide by endeavouring to throw herself from Paul's Wharf into the river."

"Mr Alfred Oxley said he lived at 49, Gloucester-street, St John's-road, Hoxton, and about half-past one o'clock the previous day he saw the prisoner on Paul's Wharf trying to get away from her daughter so that she might throw herself into the river. He assisted in stopping her, and gave her into custody. At the station she said that she was not drunk, she knew what she was about, and that it was her intention to commit the act.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel asked her why she did it.

"The Prisoner (a very respectable-looking woman) said she would not have done it if she had had a home to go to.

"Folkard, the husband of the prisoner, was called forward, and, in reply to Sir Thomas Gabriel, said that his wife was a most sober, steady, industrious woman, and had never made any attempt on her life before. The reason she had done so now was, because they could not find a home to go to. By the City police regulations they were bound to live within the City boundary, and in consequence of the many poor houses that had been pulled down for railways and improvements they were not able to find a place to live in. He first took a place that was not fit for a dog to live in, until he got a house, and he stayed in that until the roof was taken off and the dust from the ceiling fell on their heads and compelled them to leave. The only place he could find was a large warehouse, where he and his family were permitted to live, and it was that, he believed, that had turned his wife's brain. To his knowledge four other constables were in the same condition as himself.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said it was a very foolish thing of her to do, because if she had no lodging to-day she might have one to-morrow.

"Folkard said that was their difficulty ; they could not get lodgings in the City.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said—Then why not live out of it ?

"Folkard replied that the police regulations would not let them live out of it.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel asked if he had made any representation of that to the Commissioner of Police.

"Mr Martin, the chief clerk, said they had not, for the policemen were afraid to make any representation.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said he thought there ought to be some representation made to the police authorities, and he should see to it. Could they not live in those model lodging-houses ?

"Mr Martin thought they were all outside the City, and appealed to Inspector Foulger on that point.

"Inspector Foulger said they were.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said—But surely some accommodation should be got for these men. He asked Inspector Foulger what objection there could be to the men living, for instance, in the model lodging-houses in the Farringdon-road ?

"Inspector Foulger said they were outside the City, and the regulations of the force did not permit them to live outside the City.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel asked whether they had not accommodation for the men within the City.

"Inspector Foulger replied that the number of houses that had been pulled down had rendered it very difficult for the officers to find accommodation for themselves, their wives, and families.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said it was a pity they were not allowed to live out of the City.

"Inspector Foulger said that all round the City boundary there was ample accommodation for the men if they were permitted to avail themselves of it, and in many instances they would be able to live nearer to

their duty than they were at present. For instance, a man living near Temple Bar might have to be on duty on Tower-hill, and, if permitted, might live just outside the boundary, within a few minutes' walk of his duty.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel asked Folkard if he would take his wife home and take care of her.

"Folkard said he would take her home, but as he had his duty to perform he could not take more care of her than he had done. She was a very good wife and mother.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel asked her if she would promise not to attempt to destroy herself again.

"The Prisoner said she would not if she had a home to go to.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said he could not let her go while she was in that state of mind, and appealed to Inspector Foulger as to whether a home could not be got for her.

"Inspector Foulger said that plenty could be got for her outside the City, but they were not permitted to take them on account of the police regulations.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said he should remand the prisoner, and in the mean time communicate with Colonel Fraser, to see what could be done, in order to allow the police proper accommodation.

"The Prisoner was then remanded."

"As strange a story perhaps as was ever related in that great rival to works of melodramatic fiction, a police court, was narrated on Wednesday at Guildhall. The wife of a City police constable was charged before Alderman Sir Thomas Gabriel with attempting to commit suicide by flinging herself into the river from Paul's Wharf; and it was with difficulty that she had been rescued. When asked her motive for the desperate act, she replied that she would not have tried to kill herself if she had possessed a home to go to. Her husband told the Alderman that she was a sober, steady, and industrious woman, and had never before attempted suicide; but she had been reduced to despair through the want of a home. By the City police regulations the constables are bound to reside within the civic boundaries, and, according to the prisoner's husband, so many houses of the poorer class have been pulled down for railway and street improvements that the married policemen were quite unable to find such tenements as they could afford to rent. This man had first found a place 'not fit for a dog;' next he got into a house and stayed there until the roof was taken off and the hovel filled with dust and cinders from the railway; and then he and his family took shelter in a deserted warehouse. There were four other constables, he said, in a similarly homeless condition. 'Why not live out of the City?' asked logical Sir Thomas Gabriel. 'Because the police regulations will not allow us to do so,' replied the equally logical constable; and his statement seems to have been confirmed by Mr Martin, the chief clerk, who added that the constables were afraid to

make any representations of their grievances to the Commissioner of the City Police. There were model lodging-houses in plenty available as residences for policemen and their families; but they were beyond the City boundaries. Inspector Foulger, a very well-known and deserving officer of the City Police, spoke even more strongly as to the sad plight of the homeless constables. The Alderman asked the woman if she would promise not to attempt to kill herself again, but she only replied conditionally, 'that she would not do so again if she had a home to go to.' At last, as it seemed, fairly puzzled, Sir Thomas remanded the prisoner, saying that in the mean time he would communicate with Colonel Fraser to see what could be done in order to allow the police proper accommodation. Until we hear what Colonel Fraser has said to Sir Thomas Gabriel, and how this wonderful Gordian knot of Blue Tape is to be cut or unravelled, it would be difficult to fix upon the right moral of this truly strange tale."

Paris Garden, p. 17. The place where the bears were kept and baited. It was so named because Robert de Paris had a house and garden there in the time of Rich. II., who ordered the butchers to purchase the garden that their refuse might be placed there. Paris Garden seems to have been first used for bear baiting in the time of Henry VIII. In 1583 a fearful accident happened there on a Sunday, when the stage fell, killing and wounding great numbers. A detailed account of this accident is given in the *Anatomie of Abuses* (p. 211) and several contemporary writers. See Halliwell's *Arch. Dict.*, Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, and the *Diary of Dr Dee*.

Swearing, pp. 18, 19. "They (the English) are also inconstant, arrogant, vain-glorious, haughty-minded, and above all things inclined to swearing, insomuch as if they speak but three or four words, yet must they needs be interlaced with a bloody oath or two."—*Anatomie of Abuses*, 1836, p. 147. For a later view of this detestable habit see *Times' Whistle*, p. 24.

Wool, Tin, and Lead wrought within the realm, p. 38. For much information on imports and exports and suggestions for improving trade, and through it the condition of the people, see *England in the Reign of Henry VIII*.

Painting Faces, p. 44. "The women of Ailgna (many of them) use to colour their faces with certain oils, liquors, unguents, and waters made to that end, whereby they think their beauty is greatly decored."—*Anatomie of Abuses*, 1836, p. 55. See also *The Times' Whistle*, pp. 24, 34.

Dress, pp. 44, 45. In the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to the *Anatomie of Abuses*, the evils of the author's days are thus briefly touched upon: "For as your Lordship knoweth, reformation of manners and amendment of life was never more needful; for was pride (the chiefest argument of this book) ever so ripe? Do not both men and women (for the most part) every one in general, go attired in silks, velvets, damasks, satins, and what not? Which are attire only for the nobility and

gentry, and not for the other at any hand. Are not unlawful games, plays, interludes, and the like, everywhere frequented? Is not whoredom, covetousness, usury, and the like, daily practised without all punishment of law or execution of justice?" p. xi.

In the *Anatomie*, p. 17, it is said, "Now there is such a confuse mingle mangle of apparel in Ailgna (Anglia), and such preposterous excess thereof, as every one is permitted to flaunt it out in what apparel he lusteth himself, or can get by any kind of means. So that it is very hard to know who is noble, who is worshipful, who is a gentleman, who is not." See also *Four Supplications*, and *England in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, pp. clxxiv., 89, 90.

Rent-raisers, pp. xx., 46,

"The landlord is a thief that racks his rents
And mounts the price of rotten tenements,
Almost unto a damned double rate,
And such a thief as that¹ myself had late."

Taylor's Works, folio, 280, and note.

Lawyers, p. 82; *Judges*, p. 84. Consult *The Utopia*, *Ballads from MSS*, *England in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Latimer's *Sermons*, *Newes out of Powles Churchyard*, &c., on these topics.

Lady Elizabeth Fane, pp. xvi., 107. Lady Elizabeth Fane's Psalms and Proverbs were printed and published by Robert Crowley. Sometimes the name appears as Vane. She has been supposed to be the wife of the Sir Ralph Vane who was hung in 1551-2 as one of the principal adherents of the Duke of Somerset. She died 'at Holburne' and was buried at St Andrew's, Holborn, on the 11th June 1568. For letters addressed to her by John Bradford, see Foxe, edit. 1631, iii. pp. 331, 332, 339. See also *Narratives of the Reformation*, Camb. Soc., 1859, pp. 93, 94, 346. For further references consult the General Index to the *Parker Society's Publications*.

Poor in London, p. 116. "There is a certain city in Ailgna² called Munidnol³ where as the poor lie in the streets upon pallets of straw, and well if they have that too, or else in the mire and dirt as commonly it is seen, having neither house to put in their heads, covering to keep them from cold, nor yet to hide their shame withal, penny to buy them sustenance, nor any thing else, but are suffered to die in the streets like dogs or beasts, without any mercy or compassion showed to them at all."—*Anatomie of Abuses*, 1836, p. 50. Three hundred years have not remedied matters. The following are from the *Standard* of June 10 and June 28, 1871:—

"BOW-STREET.

"LIFE IN LONDON.—James Lintott, a ragged, shoeless young urchin of about 13, with long matted hair, and with hands and features almost

¹ "One that eight years since bought many houses where I and many poor men dwelt, and presently raised our rents from three pounds to five pounds."—*Taylor*, ib.

² Anglia.

³ Londinium.

untraceable through the dirt by which they were begrimed, was brought before Mr Vaughan, charged with being found in Somerset-street, Strand, with a box of flowers in his possession supposed to be stolen.

"Police-constable Sergeant, E division, stopped the boy at twelve o'clock at night. He said a chap gave him the box to take to a coffee-house in Hart-street, but he was walking in the opposite direction.

"It was proved that the box contained cut flowers worth 2*l.* 2*s.*, and had been stolen from a van belonging to Mr Reeve, florist, Acton.

"Mr Vaughan, to prisoner.—Where do you live?

"Prisoner.—I don't live nowheres.

"Have you no friends in London?—No; I ain't got no friends.

"But where do you sleep at nights?—Under the show-board agin the Lyceum Theatre.

"Mr Vaughan.—What does he say?

"Gaoler.—He says he sleeps under the large posting board in front of the Lyceum Theatre.

"Mr Vaughan.—Do you mean by that you sleep there every night?

"Prisoner.—No, I don't sleep there every night. Sometimes I gits under other boards.

"But have you no home—no father or mother?—I has a father and mother, but they won't let me go home. When I goes home they turns me out agin. Father says he won't have me there.

"Why does he refuse to have you there?—'Cause I stopped out two or three nights, and then he wouldn't never take me back agin.

"Where does he live?—Over a boot-shop in Red Lion-street. I don't know the number.

"What is your father? Where does he work?—In Common Garden Market

"Gaoler.—He is a porter in the market, your worship.

"The prisoner was then remanded for a week."

"MANSION HOUSE.

"*John Stevens*, a boy in rags, eleven years of age, was charged under the Industrial Schools Act with having been found wandering, not having any home or settled place of abode or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence.

"The case was originally heard by Sir Robert Carden, about a week ago, and then, as now, excited considerable interest from being the first charge of the kind that had been preferred in the City of London since the Elementary Education Act came into operation. The complainant and only witness on the first occasion was Joseph Willes, who described himself as an industrial school officer to the London School Board. A week ago he found the boy wandering in Lower Thames-street about midday in a miserable plight, and asked him a few questions. The boy in reply said his mother had sent him out to beg, and that he was not to return home for a week; that his parents lived in the neighbourhood of the New Cut, Lambeth; that his father was 'sometimes an engineer and

sometimes a cab driver ;' that he had never been to any school, and that while he had been from home he had slept at nights, with about 20 other boys, under some tarpauling, and among empty fish-boxes in Billingsgate-market. The witness, thinking it a case contemplated by the Industrial Schools Act, and desiring to reclaim the boy from the streets, to have him educated and taught a trade by which he might gain his own living, took him to the Seething-lane Police-station, and had him formally charged. Sir Robert Carden, before whom the boy was first brought, commended the witness very much for the course he had taken, and expressed a hope that many scores of poor destitute children would be taken from the streets of the City, and educated and taught some handicraft by which they might earn an honest livelihood, adding that he himself had for years in his own way been a 'boy's beadle,' long before that expression was in use. The case was eventually adjourned to admit of the attendance of the boy's parents, Mr Oke, the chief clerk of the Lord Mayor, doubting whether it was one which exactly came within the meaning of the Industrial Schools Act, according to which a child to be dealt with according to its provisions must be without home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence. Meanwhile the boy was sent to the union.

"Yesterday his mother, a poor but honest-looking woman, attended, and in answer to the Bench, said her husband was sometimes out of work ; that she was a tailoress and worked hard to maintain the family, of whom there were three besides the boy in question, younger than he, and that she was willing to take him home and look after him, although, she added, if he preferred to be sent to school, she would be thankful. The boy himself, crying, begged that he might be allowed to go home.

"Mr Alderman Lusk said he was loth to separate parent and child, if the mother would promise to take care of the boy and do her duty to him.

"She gave the required undertaking, and was allowed to take her son away, after he had received an admonition from the Bench."

The reader may also consult Mr Furnivall's *Ballads from MSS.*, our *Four Supplications*, and my *England in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, &c., § 4, p. cx.

Patrons, p. 118 ; *Simony*, pp. 118, 120. In 1585 it was said, "For euen our plough boyes know it to be a common practise almost euery where amongst patrons, that either they take a great summe of mony, or mony worth, as it were a fine, with such sleighty conueiance, as if they were iuglers, that no man shal espy them or any law preuent them, or make some reseruatiō of the tithes and glebeland, as it were a rent, & many times all these practises be vsed together, whose rauinous teeth, and also the paiement of the first frutes and tenthes, which the charge of their lawfull family, which the papists neuer knew, and also their tithes not paid them in so large a sise as heretofore hath bene done, hath brought the churchmen vnto such an ebbe, that after their

death their executours doe not blesse them, except it be certaine of them which haue sundry benefices."—*A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty, By Way Of Supplication, To The High Court Of Parliament, For A Learned Ministry.* In Anno. 1585, Sig. C. A copy is in the Canterbury Cathedral Library, Shelf Mk. Z. 9. 28.

Sedition, pp. 131, 141. "The breakefaste they had this laste somer" refers no doubt to the slaughter inflicted upon the rebels in the West and East of England in the summer of 1549, when half England was in a state of rebellion. See *Froude's History*, v.

This present Parliament, p. 153. The Parliament here referred to was most likely that which met in January, 1549. Its first measure was "An Act for the Uniformity of Service," &c. This "Informacion and Peticion" was probably published while this Parliament was sitting, and before the outbreak mentioned in *The Way to Wealth*.

The King's Visitation, p. 154. This visitation was made during Somerset's absence in Scotland. He returned to London from this expedition on the 8th October, 1547. See *Froude*, v. 56.

Articles, p. 170. These "Articles" were the "Six Articles." See my note to *Four Supplications*, p. 103.

Usury, p. 172. The Act legalising usury was passed, 37 H. VIII., c. 9, 1545. See *Four Supplications*, pp. 82, 84.

A One and

thyrtye Epigrammes, wherein are
bryefly touched so many Abuses, that
maye and ought to be put away.

Compiled and Imprinted by

Robert Crowley, dwel-

lynge in Elge rentes

in Holburne.

Anno domini,

1550.

i. Cor. xiiii.

What so euer ye do, let the same be done to edifie togethall.

Gala. i.¹

If I shoulde study to please men: than coulde I not
be the seruaunt of Christe.

Orig. vi.

[*Leaf 1, back, is a blank.*]

[leaf 2]

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of thys Boke.

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R.

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Of Uayne wrytars	(p. 47)
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The Boke to the Reader.

[leaf 3]

IF bokes may be bolde
 to blame and reproue
 The faultes of all menne,
 boeth hyghe and lowe,
 As the Prophetes dyd
 whom Gods Spirite did moue,
 Than blame not myne Autor;
 for right well I knowe
 Hys penne is not tempered
 vayne doctrine to sowe,
 But as Esaye hath bydden,
 so muste he nedes crye,
 And tell the Lordes people
 of their iniquitie.
 Nowe, if I do the worldelinges
 in anye poynte offende,
 In that I reproue them
 for their wyckednes,
 It is a plaine token
 they wyll not emende.
 I take all the wyse men
 of the earth to wytnes
 To them; therefore mine Autor
 biddeth me confesse,

If bokes may
 reprove faults

4

as the Prophets
 did, do not blame
 the Author.

8

Esai. 58.

12

He must tell the
 people of their
 sins.

If I offend men

16

It is cleare they
 will not amend;

20

[leaf 3, back]

24

and since they
will not, he
accounts them
brands of hell.

He has not
written for such
as will not
amend,

except to tell
them they will go
to the devil,

but for such as
have no delight
in wickedness,

[leaf 4]

and such as
reform when they
hear their faults.

Such will take
the warning in
good part.

That, sith they be determined
styll in their synne to dwell,
He accounteth them no better
than fire brandes of hell.

Wherefore he bade me bid them
holde them contente ;

He hath not written to them
that will not emende ;

For to the willinge wicked
no prophete shall be sente,

Excepte it be to tell them
that, at the laste ende,

They shal be sure and certayne
wyth Satanas to wende.

For before suche swyne
no pearles maye be caste,
That in the filthye puddell
take all their repaste.

To suche onely, therfore,
I muste his message do,
As haue not their delite
in wickednes to dwell ;

But when they heare their fault,
are sorye they dyd so,

And louingely imbrace
suche men as do them tell ;

Reformynge euermore
their lyfe by the gospell,—

To these men am I sente,
And these, I truste, will take

My warnynge in good parte,
And their euill forsake.

Iohn .viii.

He that is of God, heareth the
worde of God.

Finis.

28

32

36

40

44

48

52

56

Of Abbayes.

AS I walked alone,
 and mused on thynges
 That haue in my time
 bene done by great kings,
 I bethought me of Abbayes,
 that sometyme I sawe,
 Whiche are nowe suppressed
 all by a lawe.
 O Lorde (thought I then)
 what occasion was here,
 To prouide for learninge
 And make pouertye chere?
 The landes and the jewels
 that hereby were hadde,
 Would haue found godly prechers,
 which might well haue ladde
 The people aright
 that now go astraye,
 And haue fedde the pore,
 that famishe euerye daye.
 But, as I thus thought,
 it came to my mynde,
 That the people wyll not see,
 but delyte to be blynde.
 Wherefore they are not worthy
 good prechars to haue,
 Nor yet to be prouided for,
 but styll in vayne to craue.
 Than sayde I (O Lorde God)
 make this tyme shorte,
 For theyr sake onlye, Lorde,
 that be thy chosen sorte.

[leaf 4, back,
is a blank]

[leaf 5]

As I mused I
thought of
Abbeys I had
seen,

60

but now are
suppressed.
64

What an oppor-
tunity to provide
for learning was
here!
The lands would
have maintained
good preachers.
68

72

76

[leaf 5, back]
But the people
are blind, and do
not deserve them.
80

84

Math. 24.
88

Of Alehouses.

We must have
houses for re-
freshment.

NEdes must we haue places
for vitayls to be solde,
for such as be sycke,
pore, feble, and olde. 92

But in each ham-
let and town
they have become
places of waste,

But, Lorde, to howe greate
abuse they be growne !
In eche lyttle hamlet,
vyllage, and towne, 96

[leaf 6]

and are so placed
that a man must
pass them on his
way to church.

They are become places
of waste and excesse,
And herbour for such men
as lyue in idlenes. 100

Men who don't
like to hear their
fautes go to the
Alehouse.

And lyghtly in the contrey
they be placed so,
That they stande in mens waye
when they shoulde to church go. 104

And then such as loue not
to hear theyr fautes tolde,
By the minister that readeth
the newe Testament and olde, 108

do turne into the alehouse,
and let the church go ;
Yea, and men accompted wyse
and honeste do so. 112

*A commen-
dation of
London.*¹
London is not so
bad.

But London (God be prayсед)
all men maye commende,
Whych doeth nowe this greate
enormitie emende. 116

In service time
alehouses are
shut up.

For in seruice tyme
no dore standeth vp,
Where such men are wonte
to fyll can and cuppe. 120

¹ The side-notes of the original are printed in *Italic* throughout.

Wolde God in the countrey
 they woulde do the same,
 Either for Gods feare,
 or for worldly shame !
 How hallow they the Saboth,
 that do the tyme spende
 In drynkinge and idlenes
 tyll the daye be at an ende ?
 Not so well as he doeth,
 that goeth to the plowe,
 Or pitcheth vp the sheues
 from the carte to the mowe.
 But he doeth make holye
 the Sabothe in dede,
 That heareth Goddes worde,
 and helpeth suche as nede.

Would that the
 country would
 do so.

124

[leaf 6, back]
 They who spend
 the Sabbath in
 drinking do
 worse than those
 who plow.

128

132

Luke¹ xiii.
 He keeps it best
 who does works
 of need.

136

Of Allayes.

TWo sortes of Allayes
 in London I finde ;—
 The one agaynste the lawe,
 and the other againste kinde.
 The firste is where bowlinge
 forbidden, men vse,
 And, wastynge theyr goodes,
 do their laboure refuse.
 But in London (alas !)
 some men are deuillishelye
 Suffered to professe it,
 as an arte to lyue by.
 Well, I wyll saye no more,
 but suche as lyue so,
 And officers that suffer them,
 shall together go

Two sorts of
 alleys in Lon-
 don—

140

bowling-alleyes, in
 which men waste
 their goods.

144

*A dispraise
 of London.*
 Some live by the
 game, and pro-
 [leaf 7]
 fess it as an art.

148

These and those
 who allow it

152

¹ Orig. Mat.

will go to their
father Satan.

Eso. xiiii.

*Allayes
agaynste
kynde.*

The other sort
of alleys make a
man weep.

In them are poor
beggars innum-
erable.

[leaf 7, back]

You Aldermen
that take the
rents,

why don't you
find work for
these poor ones?

To Satan their sire,
for of God they are not,
Who commaundeth to laboure
syxe dayes, ye wotte, 156
And the seuenth he commaundeth
all menne to sanctifie,
In beynge well occupied,
and not idleye. 160
The other sorte of Allayes,
that be agaynste kynde,
Do make my harte wepe
whan they come to my mind. 164
For there are pore people,
welmoste innumerable,
That are dryuen to begge,
and yet to worcke they are able, 168
If they might haue al thinges
prouided aright.
Alas! is not thys
a greate ouer syght? 172
Ye Aldermen and other,
that take Allaye rents,
Why bestowe ye not the riches,
that God hath you sente 176
In woule or in flaxe,
to finde them occupied,
That nowe lye and begge
by euerye highe waye side? 180
And you that be chiefe,
and haue the commune treasure,
Why can you neuer finde
a time of leasure, 184
To se where the treasure
will finde them workinge,
To the profit of the Citye,
in some maner thinge? 188

But (alas !) this my tale
 is to deafe men tolde ;
 For the charitie of rich men
 is nowe thorowe colde.
 And this is a Citye
 in name, but, in dede,
 It is a packe of people
 that seke after meede ;
 For Officers and al
 do seke their owne gaine,
 But for the wealth of *the* commons
 not one taketh paine.
 An hell with out order,
 I maye it well call,
 Where euerye man is for him selfe,
 And no manne for all.

Alas ! I talk to
 deaf men, for
 rich men's
 charity is cold.

192

*Lose the de-
 finition of a
 Citie, you*
 [leaf 8]
that be

196

lerved.
 The City is a
 pack of people
 all seeking gain.

200

It is a hell with-
 out order, where
 every man is for
 himself.

204

Of Almes Houses.

A Marchaunte, that longe tyme
 hadde bene in straunge landis,
 Returned to his contrey,
 whiche in Europe standes.
 And in his returne,
 hys waye laye to passe
 By a Spittlehouse, no farre from
 where his dwelling was.
 He looked for this hospitall,
 but none coulde he se ;
 For a lordely house was builte
 where the hospitall should be.
 Good Lorde (sayd this marchaunt)
 is my contrey so wealthy,
 That the verye beggers houses
 be builte so gorgeouslye ?

A merchant
 returning to his
 country

208

had to pass an
 hospital,

212

but in its place he
 found a lordly
 house.

216

[leaf 8, back]

"Is the country
 so rich that beg-
 gars' houses are
 so fine ?"

220

He soon saw a
beggar, who told
him they were all
turned out.

Rich men had
bought the place.

The merchant
had never seen
such cruelty even
in Turkey.

[leaf 9]

A Bailiff of the
West Country, in
serving his write,

excused those
who bribed him.

Than, by the waye syde,
hym chaunced to se
A pore manne that craued
of hym for charitie. 224
Whye (quod thys Marchaunt)
what meaneth thys thyng?
Do ye begge by the waye,
and haue a house for a kyng? 228
Alas ! syr (quod the pore man)
we are all turned oute,
And lye and dye in corners,
here and there aboute. 232
Men of greate riches
haue bought our dwellinge place,
And whan we craue of them,
they turne awaye their face. 236
Lorde God ! (quod this marchaunt)
in Turkye haue I bene,
Yet emonge those heathen
none such crueltie haue I sene. 240
The vengeance of God
muste fall, no remedye,
Vpon these wicked men,
and that verye shortelye. 244

Of Baylife Arrantes.

A Baylife there was
in the weste contrey,
That dyd as they do
in all quarters, men saye. 248
He serued with one wryte
an whole score or tweyne,
And toke in hand to excuse them,
hauinge pence for his payne. 252

And when he should warne a guest
 in sessions to appeare,
 He woulde surely warne them
 that woulde make hym no cheare ;
 And then take a bribe
 to make answeere for them.
 But when he mette his frendes,
 than woulde he saye but, hem ;
 But such as had no cheare,
 nor money to paye,
 Were sure to trudge
 to the sessions alwaye.
 Ye must geue him some thyng,
 to sowe his hadlande,
 Or else ye can haue
 no fauoure at his hande.
 Some puddyngis, or baken,
 or chese for to eate,
 A bushell of barley,
 some malt, or some wheate ;
 His hadland is good grownd,
 and beareth all thyng,
 Be it baken or beffe,
 stockefyshe or lynge.
 Thus pore men are pold
 And pyld to the bare,
 By such as shoulde serue them,
 to kepe them from care.

256 He was sure to
 warn those who
 did not pay him,
 but only said
 "ahem!" to his
 friends.

260

264 [leaf 9, back]
The bayleses
had lande.
 You must give
 him something—

268

puddings, baron,
 cheese, barley,
 malt, wheat,

272

beef, or fish.

276

Thus the poor
 are robbed by
 those who should
 serve them.

280

Of Bawdes.

THe bawdes of the stues
 be turned all out ;
 But some think they inhabit
 al England through out.

Bawds are turned
 out of the stews,

284

[leaf 10]
but they may be
found in taverns,
if officers would
seek them.

In tauerns and tipling houses
many myght be founde,
If officers would make serch
but as they are bounde.

288

Well, let them take heede,
I wyll say no more ;

But when God reuengeth,
he punisheth sore.

292

It is horrible to
fall into the
Lord's hands.

An horrible thyng
it is, for to fall

Hebr. [*x.*]

Into that Lordis handis,
that is eternall.

296

Of Beggars.

Beggars whom
need compels
ought to have
relief,

THe beggars, whome nede
compelleth to craue,
Ought at our handis
some reliefe to haue ;

300

but sham ones
should labour,

But such as do counterfayt,
haueynge theyr strength
To labour if they luste,
beyng knowne at the length,

304

[leaf 10, back]
as befits Chris-
tians.

Ought to be constrayned
to worcke what they can,
And lyue on theyr laboures,
as besemeth a Christyan ;

308

2 *Thess.*¹ 3.
If they refuse,
let them fast.

And if they refuse
to worcke for theyr meate,
Then ought they to faste,
as not worthy to eate.

312

The sick ought to
be cared for.

And such as be sore,
and wyll not be healed,
Oughte not in any case
to be charished.

316

¹ Orig. 1 Tim.

I heard of two beggars
 that vnder an hedge sate,
 Who dyd wyth longe talke
 theyr matters debate.
 They had boeth sore legges,
 most lothsome to se ;
 Al rawe from the fote
 welmost to the knee.
 " My legge," quod the one,
 " I thank God, is fayre."
 " So is myne," (quod the other)
 " in a colde ayre ;
 For then it loketh rawe,
 and as redde as any bloud,
 I woulde not haue it healed,
 for any worldis good ;
 For were it once whole,
 my lyuinge were gone,
 And for a sturdye begger
 I shoulde be take anone.
 No manne woulde pittye me,
 but for my sore legge ;
 Wherfore, if it were whole,
 I might in vaine begge.
 I shoulde be constrained
 to laboure and sweate,
 And perhaps sometime
 wyth schourges be beate."
 " Well " (sayde the tother)
 " lette vs take hede therefore,
 That we let them not heale,
 but kepe them styll sore."
 An other thyng I hearde
 of a begger that was lame,
 Muche like one of these,
 if it were not the same ;

*Of twoe
 beggars.*
 Two beggars sat
 talking under a
 hedge.

320

324

" My leg is fair,"
 said one ;

328

" so is mine,"
 said the other,
 " in a cold air,
 for then it looks
 raw.

[leaf 11]

332

If it wert healed
 my living were
 gone,

336

340

and I should
 have to-work."

344

" Let us be care-
 ful," said the
 other, " to keep
 'em sore."

348

Another beggar

352

[leaf 11, back]
began to wonder
when he should
be a husband.

He had gained
1s. 4d., and spent
1s. 6d. that day.

But he must
drink to make
his tongue wag.

But still give to
all. If they
deceive, you will
have your
reward.

Who, syttinge by the fire,
wyth the cuppe in his hande,
Began to wonder whan
he shoulde be a good husbando. 356
"I shall neuer thrine"
(quod this begar) "I wene;
For I gate but .xvi. d. to daye,
and haue spente eyghtene. 360
Well, let the worlde wagge,
we muste neades haue drynke;
Go fyll me thys quarte pot,
full to the brynke. 364
The tonge muste haue bastynge,
it wyll the better wagge,
To pull a Goddes penye
out of a churles bagge." 368
Yet cesse not to gyue to all,
wythoute anye regarde;
Thoughe the beggers be wicked,
thou shalte haue thy rewarde. 372

Of Bearbaytynge.

What a folly to
keep a dog and a
bear

[leaf 12]
to see them fight!

But they are the
biggest fools who
have little money

W Hat follye is thys,
to kepe wyth daunger,
A greate mastyfe dogge
and a foule ouglye beare? 376
And to thys onelye ende,
to se them two fyght,
Wyth terrible tearynge,
a full ouglye syght. 380
And yet me thynke those men
be mooste foles of all,
Whose store of money
is but verye smale, 384

- And yet euerye Sondaye
they will surelye spende
One peny or two,
the bearwardes lyuyng to mende. 388
At Paryse garden, eche Sundaye
a man shall not fayle
To fynde two or thre hundredes,
for the bearwardes vaile. 392
One halpenye a piece
they vse for to giue,
When some haue no more
in their purse, I belieue. 396
Well, at the laste daye,
theyr conscience wyll declare
That the pore ought to haue
all that they maye spare. 400
For God hath commaunded,
that what we maye spare
Be geuen to the pore,
that be full of care. 404
If you giue it, therefore,
to se a beare fyght,
Be ye sure Goddes curse
wyl vpon you lyght. 408

and yet give to
the bearward
every Sunday.

*Parise
garden.*

They give him a
halfpenny, and
perhaps that is
all they have.

The poor
ought to have
what we can
spare.
[leaf 12, back]
*Eccles.*¹ 4.

Of Brawlers.

- A Brawler, that loueth
to breake the kinges peace,
And seke his owne sorowe,
his fansye to please, 412
Is lyke a curre dogge,
that setteth vpon
Eche mastyfe and hounde
that he may light on. 416

A brawler is like
a cur

that sets upon a
mastiff,

¹ Ecclesiasticus.

	He getteth hym hatered of euerye manne ;	
and meets with his master now and then.	And meteth with his maister euer nowe and than.	420
	To hurte other menne, he taketh greate payne ;	
	He turneth no manne to profite or gayne ;	424
He is profitable to the surgeon and the gaoler.	Except it be the surgian, or the armore,	
	The baylife, the constable, or the jayler.	428
	This is a worthye membre in a commune wealthe,	
	That to worcke other wo will lose his owne health.	432
	What other men will iudge, I can not tell ;	
↗ If he escape Tyburn he will hang in hell.	But, if he scape Tiburne, I thinke he wyll hange in hell.	436

Of Blasphemous Swerers

The son of Sirach says <i>Ecol[e]s.</i> [xx]iii.	T He sonne of Syrach wryteth playnelye Of suche menne as do sweare blasphemouslye.	440
a swearer shall be filled with iniquity.	"The manne that sweareth muche shall be fylled," sayeth he, "Wyth all wicked maners, and iniquitie.	444
[leaf 13, back]	In the house of that manne the plage shall not cease ; He shalbe styll plagued either more or les."	448

- Christe byddeth all his
affirme and denie,
Wyth yea, yea ; nay, nay ;
affirmyng no lye. - 452
" Whatsoeuer ye ad more " (saith he)
" cometh of iuell,
And is of the wycked
suggestion of the deuyll." 456
But we can not talke
wythouten othes plentye.
Some sweare by Gods nayles,
hys herte, and his bodye ; 460
And some sweare [by] his fleshe,
his bloude, and hys fote ;
And some by hys guttes,
hys lyfe, and herte rote. 464
Some other woulde seme
all sweryng to refrayne,
And they inuent idle othes,
such is theyr idle brayne :— 468
By cocke and by pye,
and by the goose wyng ;
By the crosse of the mouse fote,
and by saynte Chyckyn. 472
And some sweare by the Diuell,
such is theyr blyndenes ;
Not knowyng that they call
these thynges to wytnes, 476
Of their consciences, in that
they affirme or denye.
So boeth sortes commit
Moste abhominable blasphemie. 480

Christ told us to
say yea and nay.

But we can't talk
without oaths.

Some swear by
God's blood,

some by cock and
pye,
[leaf 14]

Math. v.
some by the
devil.

They all commit
blasphemy.

Of the Colier of Croydon.

A collier at Croydon might have been a knight,

but he would not.

It would be well
if knights cared
no more for coal-
ing than this
collier did for
knighting,
[leaf 14, back]

for since they
have sold coals
we have paid
more and had
less.

Men think the
Croydon Collier
is cousin to the
collier of hell.

IT is sayde, that in Croydon
there dyd sometyne dwell
A Colier, that dyd
all other Coliers excell. 484
For his riches thys Colier
myght haue bene a knight ;
But in the order of knighthode
he hadde no delyght. 488
Woulde God all our knightes
dyd minde colinge no more,
Than this Colier dyd knyghtyng,
as is sayde before ! 492
For when none but pore Colyars
dyd wyth coles mell,
At a reasonable price,
they dyd theyr coles sell ; 496
But sence oure Knyght Colyars
haue had the fyrste sale,
We haue payed much money
and had fewe sackes to tale. 500
A lode that of late yeres
for a royall was solde,
wyll coste nowe .xvi. s.
of syluer or golde. 504
God graunt these men grace
theyr pollyng to refrayne,
Or els bryng them backe
to theyr olde state agayne. 508
And especially the Colyar
that at Croydon doth sell ;
For men thyncke he is cosen
to the Colyar of Hell. 512

Of Commotionars.

- W**hen the bodye is vexed,
 through humors corrupted;
 To restore it to helth
 those humours muste be purged. 516
- For if they remayne,
 they wyll styll encrease
 Euery daye, more and more,
 and augment the disease ; 520
 So that in short tyme
 the body muste decaye,
 Except God geue health
 by some other waye. 524
- Euen so doth it fare
 by the weale publyke,
 Whych chaunceth to be often
 diseased and sycke, 528
 Through the mischeuouse malice
 of such men as be
 Desyrouse to breake
 the publyke unitie. 532
- Eche publyke bodye
 must be purged therfore,
 Of these rotten humours,
 as is sayed before. 536
- Els wyll it decay,
 as do the bodyes naturall,
 When rotten humours haue
 infected them ouer all. 540
- But if the publyke bodye
 can not be purged well,
 By force of purgation,
 as phisickes rules do tell : 544
 When bodyes be weake,
 and so lowe brought,

[leaf 15]
 When ill hu-
 mours corrupt
 the body

it must decay,
 except God give
 health.

So it is with the
 Commonwealth,
 which is often
 diseased.

The public body
 must be purged
 of its humours,

[leaf 15, back]
 else it will decay.

If it cannot be
 purged,

some easier way
must be found to
kill these hu-
mours.

[leaf 16]

Natural humours,
that is, true sub-
jects, must be
cherished.

When these are
strong "commo-
tioners" cannot
continue.

When they see
that they cannot
do what they
wish they will
soon vanish.

That by purgation,
no health can be wrought : 548
Then must there be sought
some easyar waye,
To kyl *the* strength of those humors :
thus doth phisicke saye. 552
When the swerde wyl not helpe
in the common wealth,
To purge it of Commotionars
and bryng it to health : 556
Then must discrete counsell
fynde wayes to kyl
The powr of those rebelles,
and let them of theyr wyll. 560
And that must be by cherishyng
the humours naturall,
And by quickenyng agayne
of the spirites vitall ; 564
Whych, in the commune wealth,
are the subiectes trew,
That do alwaye study
sedition to eschew. 568
When these men, through cherishing,
do growe and be strong,
Then can no Commotionars
continew long. 572
For as, when the strength
of ill humours is kylled,
In a naturall bodye
they be sone consumed, 576
Or made of iuell good,
as it is playne to se :
So wyll it bytyde
of such men as be, 580
In the Commune wealth,
geuen vnto sedition,

- When they se they can not
fynyshe theyr intention. 584
- And what is their power,
but the people ignoraunte,
Whom thei do abuse
by their counselles malignaunt? 588
- When the hertes of the people
be wonne to their prince,
Than can no Commotioners
do hurte in hys prouince. 592
- If this wyll not help,
than God wyll take cure,
And destroy these Commosioners,
we may be right sure : 596
- Excepte the tyme be come
that the bodye muste dye ;
For than there canne be found
no maner remedy. 600
- God graunte that our synne
haue not broughte vs so lowe,
That we be paste cure :
God onelye doeth thys knowe ; 604
- And I truste to se healthe agayne,
if the finall ende
Be not nowe nere at hande ;
whyche the Lorde shortelye sende. 608

[leaf 16, back]
Their power lies
in the ignorance
of the people.

If the people are
loyal seditious
men can do no
harm.

God grant that
we be not past
cure.

Of Commen Drunkardes.

[leaf 17]

- E**Saye lamenteth,
and sayeth, "oute, alas !
Muche wo shall betide you,
that do youre tyme passe 612
- In eatinge and drinckynge,
from morninge to nighte,

Isaiah laments
Esaye .v.

because the Jews
rose up early to
drink like beasts.

If he saw our
drunkards he
would see they
did not rise
early, but sat up
late.

i. Cor. v.¹

[leaf 17, back]

Paul tells us not
to eat or drink
with drunkards,

but, alas! our
curates excel their
parishioners in
drinking.

Solomon says a
liar slays the soul.
Sapi. i.

Til none of your membres
canne do his office righte. 616
Woe be to you," sayeth he;
"that do so earlye rise,
To fyll your selues wyth drincke
in suche beastelye wise." 620
But if he were nowe liuyng,
and sawe this worldes state,
He wold saye this of our drunkards,
that sytte vp so late. 624
For fewe of oure drunckardes
do vse to rise earelye ;
But muche of the nighte
they wyll drincke lustelye. 628
Well, Sainte Paule doeth warne
all that be of pure mynde,
To auoide drunckardes company,
where so euer they do them finde. 632
Se ye neyther eate nor drincke
wyth suche menne, sayeth he,
That be geuen to drinkinge,
what so euer they be. 636
But, alas! manye curates,
that shoulde vs thys tell,
Do all their parishioners
in drynckying excell. 640

Of Commune Liars.

Solomon the sage,
in Sapience doeth saye,
That the mouthe that lyeth
doeth the verye soule sleve. 644
If the murderer of bodies
be worthye to dye,

¹ Orig. i.

The murderer of soules shoulde not escape, trowe I.	Liars are not punished,	648
For as the soule doeth the bodye excell,		
So is his treaspace greater, that doeth the soule quell.		652
But lyars (alas !)	but are thought mu. h of,	
are nowe muche set by,		
And thought to be menne in a maner necessarie	[leaf 18]	656
To be entertayned of eche noble manne,	and are thought necessary to noblemen,	
Who are muche delighted wyth lyes nowe and than.		660
But this delite will be sorowe, I feare me, at the laste ;	This delight in lies will not last.	
Whan the liar, for hys lynges, into paynes shall be caste.		664

Of Dicears.

E Monge wyttie saynges, this precept I finde,	Cato advised to flee dice-playing,	
To auoid and fle dice (mi son)		
haue euer in mynde.	Cato.	668
For diceynges hath brought many wealthye menne to care ;		
And manye ryche heyre it hath made full bare.	which has stripped many.	672
Some menne it hath sette vp, I wyll not denye,	It has set up some,	
And brought to more worship, than they be worthy.		676
God knoweth to what ende he suffereth thys thing ;	[leaf 18, back]	

perhaps to re-
ward them in
hell.

Perchaunce to rewarde them
wyth hel at their endynge. 680

For doubtlesse those goodes
are gotten amisse,
That are gotten from him
that prodigall is ; 684

At dice both
intend to get
others' goods.

And especially at the dyce,
where boeth do intende
To get others goods,
or else hys oyne to spende. 688

Nowe if prodigalitye
or couetise be vyce,
He cannot but offend
that playeth at the dyce. 692

Prodigality and
covenantousness
reign in both.

thys thyng is certayne,
Prodigalitye and couetise
do in them all raygne. 696

Besyde the wycked othes,
and the tyme myspent,
Wherof they thincke they nede not
them selues to repent. 700

[leaf 19]

If dicynge is not
sinful,

But thys I dare saye,
that though dyceyng were no sin,
Nor the goodis mysgoten,
that men do ther at wyne ; 704

the oaths and
the misspent
time will be the
condemnation of
the players.

Yet the othes that they swere,
and the tyme myspent,
Shall be theyr damnacion,
vnlesse they repent. 708

Leaue of your vayne dyceyng,
ye dycers, therefore,
For vnlesse ye repent,
God hath vengeaunce in store ; 712

And when ye thynke least,
then wyl he pour it oute,

And make you to stoupe,
be ye neuer so stoute.

God will make
them stoop un-
less they repent.
716

Of Double Benificed Men.

THe kyng of that realme,
where iustice doeth reygne,
Perused olde statutis,
that in bokis remayne.
And as he turned the boke,
him chaunced to se,
That such as haue benifices
shoulde resident be ;
And haue theyr abydyng,
whyles theyr lyfe shoulde endure,
Emong them, ouer whome
God hath geuen them cure.
Then sayed he to him selfe,
" I thyncke well there is
No lawe in thys realme
worse obserued then this.
Yet can there nothyng
My flocke more decaye,
Then when hyrel ynges suffer
My shepe go astraye."
Then called he his counsell
And tolde them his mynde,
And wylled that they shoulde
some remedy fynde.
Whoe, wyth good aduice,
agreed on this thyng,
That visitours should be sent,
wyth the powre of the kyng,
To punyshe all such
as herein dyd offende,

A certain king
looked over some
statutes which
said benificed
men should be
resident.
720

[leaf 19, back]

724

728

He thought no
law was so little
observed.
732

736

He called his
Council,

740

and sent visitors
to punish all that
should disobey
this law.
744

[leaf 20]

The visitors
found only one
priest who would
surrender none.
Osee .iiii.

He was brought
to the king, and
pleaded the royal
"grant of a
plurality,"

and said if he had
right he must
keep them for his
lifetime.
[leaf 20, back]

"So shalt thou;
for to-morrow
thy body shall be
divided, and part
sent to each
benefice,

Vnlesse they were founde
thorowe wyllynge to amende. 748
These visitours found many stout
priestes, but chieflie one
That hadde sondrye benefices,
but woulde surrender none. 752
Than was this stoute felowe
brought to the kynge,
Who sayde vnto hym,
"Syr, howe chaunceth this thing? 756
Wyl ye transegresse my lawes?
and than disobeye
Menne hauing my power?
Syr, what can you saye?" 760
"If it mai like your grace," (quod he)
"loe, heare is to se,
Your seale at a graunte
of a pluralitie." 764
"Well," saide the kinge than,
"I repente me of all yll;
But tell me, maister doctoure,
wil you haue your benefices styll?" 768
"If your grace do me ryghte," (quod he)
"I must haue them my life tyme."
"So shalt thou," (quod the kynge)
"for to morow by pryme, 772
God wyllynge, thy body
shalbe diuided, and sent,
To ech benefice a piece,
to make the resident. 776
Away wyth hym" (quod the kyng)
"and let al thyngis be done,
As I haue geuen sentence,
to morow ere none. 780
For syth thou arte a stout¹ priest,
an example thou shalt be,
¹ stont in original.

That all stouburne priestes
may take warnyng by the."

784 that all may take
warning."

Of the Exchequer.

IN the weste parte of Europe
there was sometyne a kynge,
That had a court for receyte
of money to him belonging.
But the ministers of that court
dyd longe, and many a daye,
Take brybes to bare *with* suche men
as should forfaytis pay.
At the laste, to the Kyng
this theyr falshode was tolde,
By suche as about hym,
were faythfull and bolde.
Then dyd the Kyng sende
for these ministers ill,
And layde all theyr faltes
before them in a byll.
Then were they abashed,
and had nought to saye,
But cryed for hys pardon ;
but he bade, "Awaye ;
Ye haue borne wyth theues,
and haue robbed me,
And suffered my people
impoueryshed to be.
No statute coulde cause
thoffendars to emende,
Because you bare wyth them,
when they dyd offende.
Awaye wyth them all,
laye them in prisone,

In the West a
king had a court
for the receipt of
money.

788

The officers took
bribes.

792

[leaf 21]

796

When the king
heard of it he
sent for them.

800

804 They cried for
mercy, but he
sent them away

808

812

to prison to await
judgment.

	Tyll we haue determined, what shall wyth them be done."	816
[leaf 21, back]	What iudgment they had I haue not hearde yet ;	
They deserued a Tyburn tippet.	But well I wot they deserued a Tiburne tippet.	820

Of Flaterars.

A flatterer is worse than an enemy.	A Flatteryng frende is worse then a foe ; For a frende is betruſted, when the other is not so.	824
ii. <i>Re. iii.</i>	Of an open enimie, a man may be ware ; When the flatteryng frend wyl worcke men much care.	828
If Abner had knowne Iob's heart	For if Abner had knowne what was in Iob's harte, I do not doubt but he would haue out of his waye ſterte ;	832
he would haue auoided him.	Or, at the leaſte, he would not haue admitted hym ſo ny As to be embraced of hym, and on his dagger to dye.	836
[leaf 22]	Wherefore I aduertise al men to be ware Of all flatteryng frendis, that bring men to care.	840
Trust open ene- mies if you like.	As for open ennimies, trust them if ye wyl ; I can not forbyd you to admyt your owne yll.	844
	Woulde God all men woulde ſuch flatterars trye,	

- As hange at theyr elbowes,
to get some what therby. 848
But (alas !) nowe adayes,
men of honour do promote
Many a false flatteryng
and lewde harlot ; 852
Whych thyng may at the lengthe
be theyr owne decaye ;
For if the wynde turne,
the flatterars wyll awaye. 856
The swallowe in sommer
wyll in your house dwell ;
But when wynter is commynge,
she wyll saye farewell. 860
And when the short dayes
begyn to be colde,
Robinredbrest wil come home to ye,
and be very bolde ; 864
But when summer returneth,
and bushes wax grene,
then Robyn your man
wyll no more be sene. 868
So some of your flattera[r]s
wyll in prosperitie,
be of your householde,
and of your family ; 872
And some other wyl,
when nede doth them payne,
Sue to do you seruice,
tyll they be welthy agayne. 876
- Now-a-days men
of honour pro-
mote flatterers,
- who, if the wind
turns, will leave
them,
- as the swallow
leaves man in
wiuter,
- [leaf 22, back]
and the robin in
the summer.
- Some flatterers
will remain
while you are
prosperous :
- others will seek
you when they
are poor.

Of Foles.

THe Prechar sayeth thus,
“a pore wytty ladde

A witty lad is
better than a
Eccle. iiii.
foolish old king.

	is better then an olde Kynge, whose wytte is but badde."	880
	The wyse man in pouertie is ryght honourable, Whan the fole in his ryches, is worthy a bable.	884
[leaf 23] Some natural foles understand nothing;	Some foles there be of nature, that vnderstande nought ; Some other vnderstand thynges, but haue euer in theyr thought,	888
the biggest foles of all think themselves wisest.	That they them selues be wysest ; whych folly passeth all, And doeth soneste appeare, as well in greate as small.	892
	These foles wyll not heare any mans reade or counsell, And what soeuer they them selfe do, is excedyng well ;	896
	But other mens doynge they wyll euer dyprease, For other can do nought that may theyr mynde please.	900
They meddle with everybody's business,	And, further, they thyncke it becometh them well, in euery mans matter them selfe to entermel.	904
	And when they come in place where is any talke, No man shal fynde a tyme to speake, so faste theyr tonges shal walke.	908
and allow no man to speak.	Of theyr owne dedis and goodes, they wyll bragge and boaste, And declare all theyr mishaps, and what they haue loste.	912
[leaf 23, back]	If ye tell them of theyr fautes, then wyll they nedes fyght ;	
If you tell them of their faults they'll fight.		

- Ye must saye as they saye,
 Be it wrounge or ryght. 916
 In fine, ye must prayse them,
 and sette forth theyr fame ;
 And what soeuer they do,
 you may them not blame. 920
 If ye tell them of knowledge,
 they saye they lacke none,
 And wyshe they had lesse,
 and then they make mone, 924
 For the losse of vayne toyes,
 wherin they delyte ;
 And then, if ye reasone farre,
 beware, they wyll fyght. 928
 All wise men, take hede,
 and shunne theyr companye,
 For of all other men,
 they are most vngodly. 932

You must praise
 them.

If you reason
 with them, they
 will fight. All
 wise men shun
 them.

Of Forestallars.

[leaf 24]

- T**He fryses of Walis
 to Brystowe are brought ;
 But before thei were wouen,
 in Walis they are bought ; 936
 So that nowe we do paye
 foure grotes, or els more,
 For the fryse¹ we haue bought
 for eyght pens heretofore. 940
 And some saye the wouile
 is bought ere it do growe,
 And the corne long before
 it come in the mowe. 944
 And one thyng there is
 that hurteth moste of all ;

Welsh friezes are
 bought before
 they are woven.

Some say the
 wool is bought
 before it is
 grown.

¹ Orig. "fryfe"

Reversions
of farms and
benefices are
bought.

Reuersions of fermes are bought
long ere they fall. 948

And ryght so are benefices
in euery coaste,
So that persons and vicars
kepe neyther sodde nor roste. 952

[leaf 24, back]

The pore of the paryshe,
whome the person shoulde fede,
Can haue nought of oure tythis,
to sucuoure theyr nede. 956

Old tenants must
pay well if they
would remain.

Reuersions of fermes
are bought on ech syde ;
And the olde tenant must pay well,
if he wyll a byde. 960

And where the father payde a peny,
and a capon or twayne,
The sonne muste paye ten pownde :
[t]his passeth my brayne. 964

The clerk of the
market will
punish these
engrossers and
forestallers.

Well, let thes forestallars
repent them bytyme,
Leste the clarke of the market
be wyth them ere pryme. 968

For he, when he cometh,
wyll punysh them all,
That do any nedeful thyng
ingrose or forestall. 972

When he went
away his servant
told us not to
seek our own
profit.

For well I wotte thys,
when he went laste awaye,
He sent vs his seruauant,
and thus dyd he saye. 976

i. Cor. x.

Se that emong you
none seke his owne gayne,
But profyte ech other
wyth traunyle and payne. 980

[leaf 25]

Of Godlesse Men.

HOlye Dauid, that was
 boeth propheth and kinge,
 Sawe in hys tyme
 (as appeareth by hys wrytynge)
 That in those dayes
 there were men of wycked hert,
 That dyd all godlye wayes
 vtterlye peruerte.
 And so there are nowe,
 the pitye is the more,
 That lyue more carnalye
 than euer men² dyd before.
 These men (sayeth kinge Dauid)
 in their hertes do saye,
 Surelye there is no God,
 let vs take our owne waye.
 Thus iudged kyng Dauid,
 and that for good skyll,
 Bicause he sawe their worckes,
 were wycked and euyll.
 They are (sayeth he) corrupt,
 and nought in all theyr wayes,
 Not one doeth good;
 and therfore he sayes,
 That they thincke there is no God,
 theyr worckis do declare,
 For to do the thyng that good is
 they haue no maner care.
 But what would Dauid saye,
 if he were in these dayes,
 When men wyl do ill,
 and iustifie theyr yl weyes?

David in his time
saw wicked men,

984 *Psalm xiv.*¹

988 who perverted
godly ways.

So now there are
men more carnal
than ever.

992

996 They say there
is no God,

1000

[leaf 25, back]

1004

and their deeds
declare it.

1008

What would
David say now?

1012

¹ Orig. i.

² Repeated in orig.

	They leaue the good vndone, and do that yll is ; And then they call that yll good— what woulde Dauid saye to this ?	1016
	I know not what Dauid would saye in this case ; But I knowe that good Esay doeth curse them apase.	1020
Isaiah would curse them apase for calling evil good, and good <i>Esai. v.</i> evil.	Woe ! sayth this prophete, to them that do call That thyng good that euell is. but this is not all :	1024
[leaf 26]	He sayeth woe to them that call dearkenenes lyght, Preferryng theyr fansey before the worde of myght.	1028
If they find any- thing in the Bible	If they fynde a thynge wrytten in Paul, Luke, or John, Or any other scripture, they wyll therof none,	1032
they will none of it if it do not agree with their fancy.	Except they may easily perceyue and se That, wyth theyr fleshly fansey, they may make it agre.	1036
	All other textis of scripture they wyll not stycke to deny ; Yea, some of them wyll God and his scripture defie,	1040
	And say they wyl make merie here, for when they be gone They can haue no ioye, for soule they haue none.	1044
They say they haue no soules.	If these menne be not godles, muche meruell haue I. Well, the cause is the Lordes, lette hym and them trye.	1048
The cause is God's,		

I knowe at the laste,
 they shall fynde him to strong :
 The daye of his vengeaunce
 wyll not tarye long.

[leaf 26, back]
 and they will find
 Him strong.

1052

Of Idle Persons.

Idenes hath ben cause
 of much wyckednes,
 As Ecclesiasticus
 doeth playnely wytnes,
 Idle persons, therefore,
 can not be all cleare,
 As by the storie of Sodome,
 it doeth well appeare.
 But that we may come nere
 to our owne age,
 The idlenes of abbays
 made them outrage.
 Yet let vs come neare,
 euen to the tyme present,
 And se what myschyfe
 Idle persons do inuent ;
 What conspiracies haue ben wrought,
 Wythin this lyttle whyle,
 By idle men that dyd
 the commons begyle ;
 And what haue idle men
 alwaye practised,
 To breake the peace of prynces,
 that they myght be hyered.
 I wyll not saye what
 the idlenes of priestes hath done,
 Nor yet the idlenes
 of seruauantis in London.

Idleness causes
 much wickedness,

Eccles. 33.

1056

as was seen in
 Sodom,

1060

and the abbeyes.

1064

1068 Now idle persons
 hatch con-
 spiracies.

1072 [leaf 27]

1076

1080 What the idleness
 of priests and
 servants in Lon-
 don has done,

let every man see
for himself.

Let eueri man search
his owne houshold well,
And whether the thyng
be true that I tell. 1084

It is the gate of
all mischief.

Yea, what abuse dyd euer
emonge the people rayne,
But the same dyd fyrst sprynge
out of an idle brayn ? 1088

You masters,
keep your
families,

Idlenes, therfore,
maye ryghte well be named
The gate of all mischiefe
that euer was framed. 1092

[leaf 27, back]

Ye masters and fathers, therfore,
that feare God omnipotent,
Kepe youre families,
leaste ye be shente ; 1096

for they are
committed to
your charge.

For if thorowe their idlenes
they fall into outrage,
Your iudgemente shall be strayght,
for they are committed to your charg. 1100

Would that
magistrates
would set men
to work !

Kepe them, therfore, styll occupied,
in doynge youre busines,
Or els in readynge or hearynge
some bokes of godlines. 1104

This realm has
three commodi-
ties, wool, tin,
and lead, which
should be wrought
at home.

And woulde God the maiestrates
woulde se men set a-worke,
And that within thys realme
none were suffered to lurke. 1108

This realme hath thre commoditie
woule, tynne, and leade,
Which being wrought within the realme,
eche man might get his bread. 1112

¶ Of Inuenters of Straunge Newes.

Some men delight
to invent newes

Some men do delite
straunge newes to inuente,

- Of this mannes doyng,
 and that mannes intente ; 1116
 What is done in Fraunce,
 of Foreign parts,
 and in the Emperours lande ; [leaf 28]
 And what thyng the Scottes
 do nowe take in hande ; 1120
 What the Kynge and his counsell,
 do intende to do ;
 Though for the most parte
 it be nothyng so. 1124
 Such men cause the people,
 which for the
 that els woulde be styll, most part is
 To murmour and grudge, untrue.
 whych thyng is very ill. 1128
 Yea, sometyme they cause
 the people to ryse,
 And assemble them selfe
 in most wycked wyse. 1132
 In Plato hys common wealth,
 Plato expelled all
 such men shoulde not dwell, poets and orators
 For poetes and oratoures from his com-
 he dyd expell. 1136
 Oh ! that these newes bryngars
 had for theyr rewarde,
 Newe halters of hemppe,
 They want new
 to sette them forward ! halters. 1140

¶ Of Laye Men that take Tithes,
 and Priests that vse theyr Ti-
 t[h]es priuatly. [leaf 28, back]

- When Iustice began
 in iudgment to syt,
 To punysh all such men
 as dyd fautes commit ; 1144
 When Justice
 began to sit in
 judgment

But whilse he thus laye,
 he fell in a sloumber,
 and sawe in his dreame
 pore folke a greate number,
 Whoe sayde they had learned thys
 at the preachars hande,
 To paye all wyth patience,
 that theyr landlordes demaunde.
 For they for theyr sufferance,
 in such oppression,
 Are promised rewarde
 in the resurrection.
 Where such men as take leases
 them selues to aduaunce,
 Are sure to haue hell
 by ryght inheritaunce.

1180 Then he dreamed
 that poor folks
 said they had
 learned to pay
 what landlords
 demanded,

1184

[leaf 29, back]

1188 because they
 would be re-
 wardet in the
 resurrection, but
 leasemongers
 are sure of hell.

1192

Of Marchauntes.

IF Marchauntes wold medle
 wyth marchaundice onely,
 And leaue fermes to such men,
 as muste lyue thereby;
 Then were they moste worthy
 to be had in price,
 As men that prouide vs
 of all kyndes marchaundice.
 But syth they take fermes,
 to let them out agayne,
 To such men as muste haue them,
 though it be to theyr payn:
 And to leaue greate fines,
 or to ouer the rent,
 And do purchayse greate landes,
 for the same intent:

If merchants
 would let farms
 alone it would
 be well.

1196

1200

But they take
 them and let
 them out again,
 raising the rents.

1204

[leaf 30]

1208

They are un- profitable.	We muste nedes cal them membres vnprofitable, As men that woulde make all the Realme miserable.	1212
They also lend money to young merchants.	Howe they leaue theyr trade, and lende oute theyr money, To yonge marchaunte men, for greate vsurie ; Whereby some yonge men are dreuen to leaue all, And do into moste extreme pouertie fall,	1216
What is the remedy ?	It greueth me to wryte. but what remedy ? They muste heare theyr faute, syth they be so greedye.	1224
The Lord will haue them in mind,	And thus I saye to them, and trewe they shall it fynde, The Lorde wyll haue all theyr iuell doynge in mynde.	1228
[leaf 30, back]	And at the laste daye, when they shall aryse, All shall be layed playne before theyr owne eyes,	1232
and they will get judgment without mercy.	Where iudgemente shall be geuen, as Saynte Iames doeth wytnes, Wythoute all mercye to suche as be merciles	1236
<i>Iacob .ii.</i>		

Of Men that haue Diuers Offices.

In Rome ambi-
tion was punished
with exile,

WHan the Citye of Rome
was ruled aryght,
As aunciente autours
do recorde and wryte

1240

- Ambition was punished
 wyth vtter exile ;
 Yet were there some that dyd
 venter some whyle. 1244 yet some ven-
tured to return.
- But we reade not of anye
 that euer wente aboute,
 To haue two offices at once,
 were they neuer so stoute. 1248 But none seem
to have had two
offices at once, as
they do here.
- But, alas ! in this Realme,
 we counte hym not wyse,
 That seketh not by all meanes
 that he canne deuise, 1252
- To take offices together,
 wythoute anye staye. [leaf 31]
- But Christe shal saie to these menne
 at the laste daye, 256 At the last day
Christ will de-
Luke .xvi.
mand an account
of your steward-
ship.
- Geue accounts of your baliwickes,
 ye mene wythout grace,
 Ye that soughte to be rulers
 in euerye place, 1260
- Geue accountes of your baliwike,
 for come is the daye
 That ye muste leaue youre offices,
 and walke your fathers waye. 1264

Of Nice Wyues.

- T**He sonne of Sirache
 of women doeth saye,
 That theire nicenes & hordom
 is perceiued alwaye 1268
- By there wanton lokes,
 And lyftyng vp of eyes,
 And their lokinge ascoye,
 in most wanton wise. 1272
- The son of Sirach
says, a woman
Eccles. 26.
may be known by
wanton looks.

Eccles. vi[x].

He also says that
the walk and the
[leaf 31, back]
dress declare the
mind.

If so what are we
to think of the
London women?

"If gait and
garments show
anything," our
wives surpass all
whores.

Their caps are
like a sow's maw;

[leaf 32]

If their hair won't
dye they buy
new, and lay it
out in tussocks,

one on each side
as big as a ball.

And in the same

Iesus Syrach, I fynde
That the gate and the garment
do declare the mynde.

1276

If these thynges be trew,
(as, no doubt, they be)

What shold we thynk of *the* women
that in London we se?

1280

For more wanton lokes,

I dare boldely saye,
Were neuer in Iewyshe whores,
then in London wyues thys daye.

1284

And if gate and garmentes

do shewe any thyng,
Our wiues do passe their whoris
in whorelyke deckyng.

1288

I thynk the abhominable
whores of the stews

Dyd neuer more whorelyke
attyrementes vse.

1292

The cappe on hyr heade
is lyke a sowes mawe;

Such an other facion

I thynk neuer Iewe sawe.

1296

Then fyne geare on the foreheade,
sette after the new trycke,

Though it coste a crowne or two,

What then? they may not stycke.

1300

If theyr heyre wyl not take colour,

then must they by newe,

And laye it oute in tussockis:

this thyng is to true.

1304

At ech syde a tussocke,

as bygge as a ball,—

A very fayre syght

for a fornicator bestiall.

1308

- Hyr face faire paynted,
to make it shyne bryght,
And hyr bosome all bare,
and most whollyke dight. 1312
Hyr mydle braced in,
as smal as a wande ;
And some by wastes of wyre
at the paste wyfes hande. 1316
A bumbe lyke a barrell,
wyth whoopes at the skyrte ;
Hyr shoes of such stuffe
that may touche no dyrte ; 1320
Vpon hyr whyte fyngers,
manye rynges of golde,
Wyth suche maner stones
as are most deariye solde. 1324 [leaf 32, back]
Of all their other trifles,
I wyll saye nothyng,
Leaste I haue but small thanckes,
for thys my writyng. 1328
All modeste matrons
I truste wyll take my parte,
As for nice whippets, wordes
shall not come nye my hert. 1332
I haue tolde them but trueth,
let them saye what they wyll ;
I haue sayde they be whollyke,
and so I saye styll. 1336
- Their faces are painted, their bosome bare.
Their waists are braced in,
and their bums like a barrel.
Shoes must not touch the dirt.
Rings on fingers.
[leaf 32, back]
All modest matrons will, I hope, take my part.
I have said they are whollyke, and so they are.

Of Obstinate Papistes.

- A N obstinate papiste,
that was sometyme a frier,
Hadde of his friers cote
so greate a desire, 1340
- A friar so desired to wear his friar's coat

that he went to
Louvain to put
it on.

That he stale out of England,
and wente to Louayne,
And gate his fryers cote
on his foles backe agayne. 1344

[leaf 33]

A wilfull beggar
this papist wyl be,
A fole and a fryer,
and thus is one man thre. 1348

Would God all
the Papists were
with him !

Would God all the papistis,
that he lefte behynde,
Where wyth him in frye[r]s cotis
accordyng to theyr kynde ; 1352

Unless they can
burn the Bible
they will despair.

Or els I woulde they were
wyth theyr father the Pope,
For whylse they be in England,
thei do but lyue in hope. 1356

God grant that
they may take
their natural
prince for their
head, and forsake
the Pope.

And excep[t] they myght get
the Bible boke burned,
Into dispeyre theyr hope
wyl shortly be turned. 1360

God graunte them the grace
this hope to forsake,
And their naturall prynce
for theyr heade to take ; 1364

Forsakinge the Pope,
wyth al hys peltrye,
Whiche of longe tyme
they haue sette so much by. 1368

[leaf 33, back]

Of Rente Rayzers.

A man surveyed
his lands, and
let them out dear.

A Manne that had landes,
of tenne pounce by yere,
Surueyed the same,
and lette it out deare ; 1372

So that of tenne pounde
 he made well a score
 Moe poundes by the yere
 than other dyd before.

1376

But when he was tolde
 whan daunger it was
 To oppresse his tenauntes,
 he sayed he did not passe.

1380

When he was
 told it was dan-
 gerous to oppres-
 his tenants, he
 said he could do
 as he liked with
 his own.

For thys thyng, he sayde,
 full certayne he wyste,
 That wyth hys owne he myghte
 alwayes do as he lyst.

1384

But immediatlye, I trowe
 thys oppressoure fyl sicke

But he soon died.

Of a voyce that he harde,

Luke .xvi.

“geue accountes of thy baliwicke!”

1388

Of Vayne Wryters, Vaine Talkers, and Vaine Hearers.

OF late, as I laye,
 and lacked my reste,

[leaf 34]
 As I lay restless

At suche time as Titan
 drewe faste to the Easte,

1392

Thys sayinge of Christe
 came into my minde,

Christ's saying
 about idle words
 came into my
 mind.

Whyche certayne and true
 all maner menne shall fynde :—

1396

Of euerye idle worde
 ye shall geue a rekeninge ;

Math. xii.

Be it spoken by mouthe,
 or put in wrytynge.

1400

O Lorde (thought I then)
 what case be th[e]y in,

What a case they
 are in who write
 and talk vainly!

That talke and write vaynely,
 And thinke it no synne?

1404

I thought I saw
three vain men
condemned and
punished.

[leaf 84, back]

The writer's head
was opened, and
the talker stirred
his brains with
a stick ;

while the writer
pulled the talker's
tongue out a
hand-length ;

and the listener's
ears were pulled
almost up to
his eyes.

Than slombred I a little,
and thoughte that I sawe
Thre sortes of vayne menne
condempned by Gods lawe. 1408
The one was a wryter,
of thynges nought and vayne,
And an other a talker ;
And thys was theyr payne : 1412
The wryter hadde the crowne
of hys heade opened,
Whose braynes wyth a stycke
the talker styrred ; 1416
And he wyth boeth handes
drew the talkers tonge,
So that wythout hys mouthe
it was an handefull longe. 1420
The thirde was an herkener
of fables and lyes,
Whose eares were almost
drawen vp to his eyes. 1424

Of Vnsaciabie Purchasers.

A rich man rode
out, and had only
a boy with him.

"Jack, I have
bought this
ground."

"Marry, men
say your pur-
chase is great,
but your house-
hold small."

A N vnreasonable ryche man
dyd ryde by the way,
Who, for lacke of menne,
hadde wyth hym a boye. 1428
And as he paste by a pasture
most pleasaunte to se,
"Of late I haue purchasid
thys grounde, Iacke," quod he. 1432
"Mary, maister" (quod the boye)
"men saye ouer all,
That your purchase is greate,
but your housholde is smal." 1436

"Why, lacke" (quod this riche man)

"what haue they to do?

Woulde they haue me to purchase
and kepe greate house to?"

"I can not tell" (quod the boye)

"what maketh them to brawle ;

But they saye that ye purchase
the Deuill, his dame, and all."

[leaf 35]

"Why, Jack,
would they haue
me buy and keep
a great house
too?"

1440

Luk. xiii.

"I don't know
why they brawle—
they say you buy
the deuil and his
dam."

1444

Of Vsurars.

A Certaine man had landes,
little thoughe it were ;

And yet wold faine haue liued
lyke a gentleman's peare.

Of thys lande he made sale,
and toke readye golde,

And let that for double the rente
of the lande that was solde.

Than came there a broker,
and sayde if he woulde do

As he woulde aduise hym,
he shoulde make of one peny two.

"Marye that woulde I fayne do"
(quod this vsurer than)

"I praye the teache me
the feat if thou can."

"You shall" (sayde thys broker)
"lende but for a monethes day,

And be sure of
a sufficient¹ gage alwaye,

Wyth a playne bill of sale ;
if the day be not kept,

And se that ye do
no causis accepte.

A man had a
little land, but
wanted to live
like a gentleman,
so he sold his
land, and lent the
money.

1448

1452

A broker came
and offered to
tell him how to
make twopence
of a penny.

1456

1460 [leaf 35, back]

"Lend only for a
'month's day'
with good se-
curity, and a bill
of sale.

1464

1468

¹ Orig. suffitience

Your interest
must be a penny
for a shilling,
then at the year's
end twelve
months will give
twelve pence."

Than muste you be sure
that your intereste be
One peny for a shylynge,
and thre pence for three. 1472

So by the yeres ende,
twelue moneths geue twelue pens,
For the vse of a shylynge.
lo, I haue tolde you all sens." 1476

"This will do:
my twenty pounds
will produce four
hundred, and I
can live like a
lord."

Than saide this vsurer,
"this matter goeth well,
For my twentye pounce lande,
that I chaunced to sell, 1480

I shall haue foure hundred
pounce rente by the yere,
To lyue lyke a Lorde,
and make iolye chere." 1484

[leaf 36]

But a prophet
came, and told
him heaven was
no place for such
unlawful gain.

Than came there a Prophete,
and tolde thys manne playne,
That h[e]auen is no place
for suche vnlawefull gayne. 1488

"Why, sir" (quod this Vsurar)
"it is my liuyngē."
"Yea, sir" (quod this Prophet)
"but it is not youre calling ; 1492

"You are to live
on £20 a year
till God shall
increase the
amount ;

You are called to liue
after twentye pounce by yere,
And after that rate
ye shoulde measure your chere, 1496

Tyll God did encrease you
by his mercifull wayes,
By encreasyngē youre corne,
and youre cattell in the leyes ; 1500

and with the
increase you are
to profit all who
live near you.

Whyche encrease wyth your landes
you are bounde to employe,
To the profite of all them
that do dwell you bye. 1504

- Ye are not borne to your selfe,
 neither maye you take
 That thyng for youre owne,
 where of God did you make 1508 [leaf 84, back]
 But stuarde and baylife,
 that shall yelde a rekeninge
 At the Daye of Iudgmente
 for euerye thyng. 1512
 And do ye not doubtte,
 but then ye shall knowe,
 Whether ye maye your goodes
 at youre pleasure bestowe ; 1516
 And whether ye maye vse
 wayes wycked and yl,
 To increase your riches
 at your owne will. 1520
 But chieflie to lende
 youre goodes to vsurie,
 Is a thinge that you shall
 moste dearelye abyge ; 1524
 For Christe saieth in Luke
 that the heathen do so.
 Take hede lest ye flytte
 frome pleasure to woe." 1528

At the Judgment
 you will learn
 whether you may
 do as you like
Luke xvi.
 with your own.

To lend your
 money for usury
 is a thing you
 will suffer for.
 Christ says the
 heathen do so."

Luke .vi.

Finis.

¶ Cum p[r]iuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

The Voyce of

the laste trumpet, blowen by the sequenth Angel (as is mentioned in the eleuenth of the Apocalips) calling al estats of men to the ryght path of theyr vocati-on, wherin are conteyned .xii. Lessons to twelue seuerall estats of men, which if thei learne and folowe, al shall be

* wel, and nothing amis *
~ * ~

¶ The voyce of one crynge
in the deserte.
Luke .iii.

¶ Make redy the Lords waie, make his pathes streight. Euery valley shalbe fylled, and euery mountayne and lyttle hyl shalbe made lowe, and thynges that be croked shalbe made streygght, & hard passages shalbe turned into plaine waies, and all flesh shall se the hea[l]th of God.
Esaie .xl.

¶ Imprinted at London by Robert Crotoley, dwellinge in Elie rents in Holburn. Anno Do.
M D L.

¶ Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

The Boke to the Readar.

It pleased mine autor to geue me of nam[e]		I am named the
The voice of the last trumpe (as S. Iohn doeth wryte)		Last Trumpet
Thincking therby to auoyd all the blame		to avoid all
That commenli chaunceth to such men as wryte	4	blame.
Plainly to such men as walk not upright :		
For truth gette[t]h hatred of such as be yll,		
And wil sufer nothing <i>that</i> bridleth their wil.	7	
If ought do displese you, let me bere <i>the</i> wit,		
For I am the doar of all that is done ;		
I bark at your fauts, but loth I am to byt,		Though I bark I
If by this barkyng ought myght be won :	11	am unwilling to
And for thys intent I was firste bigonne,		bite.
That, hearing your fautes, ye myght them emende,		Hearing your
And reigne <i>with</i> our master Christ in the end.	14	fautes, may you
		amend them.

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The Beggars Lesson.

Whoso woulde that all thynges were well,
 And woulde hymselfe be wyth out blame,
 Let hym geue eare, for I wyll tell
 The waye how to performe the same.

Let those who
 would have all
 things well give
 ear to me.

4

Fyrste walke in thy vocation,
 And do not seke thy lotte to chaunge ;
 For through wycked ambition,
 Many mens fortune hath ben strayinge.

Walk in your
 vocation,
 and don't try to
 change your lot.

8

THE BEGGARS LESSON.

If God haue layede hys hande on the,
 And made the lowe in al mens syght,
 Content thiselfe *with* that degre,
 And se thou walke therin upryght.

If you are a
 beggar, be
 content.

12

If thou, I saye, be very pore,
 And lacke thine health or any limme,
 No doubt God hath inough in store
 For the, if thou wylt truste in hym.

16

If thou wylt truste in hym, I saye,
 And continue in patience,
 No doubt he wyll fede the alwaye
 By his mercifull providence.

Esai. [xvi.]

Trust in God, and
 He will feed you,

20

Call thou on hym, and he wyll moue
 The hertes of them that dwel the by,
 To geue the such thynges for hys loue
 As serue for thy necessitie.

and give you
 what you need :
Dan. xi[v.]

24

as He did Daniel
 in the lions' den,

When Daniell was in the denne
 Of Lions, haueynge nought to eate,
 Abacucke was sent to him then,
 With a pot of potage and meate.

28

	And when Elias fled away	
[iii. Reg.] .17. and Elijah when ravens fed him.	From Ahab and quene Iesabel, The rauens fed him by the way, As the story of Kinges doeth tel.	32
	And as King Dauid doth record,	
[Psal.] .147.	The rauens byrdes left in the nest, Are, when they cry, fed of the Lord, Though they know not to make request.	36
	Trust thou therfore in God aboue,	
[Psal.] .32. He will move men to be benevolent.	And cal on him with confidence, And doubtles he will mens hertes moue To fede the of beneuolence.	40
[Luk] .xii. [Psal.] .iii. If you are in want, do not despair.	But if at any tyme thou lacke Thynges nedeful, yet do not despayre, As thoughe the Lorde did the forsake, Or ded to the displeasure beare.	44
	But in such case, cal to thy mynd What plenty God hath to the sent,	
[Tv] b. xiii You will find you have wasted many things,	And thou shalt wel perceiue & find That thou hast many thynges mispent.	48
	Then thincke Gods iustyce coule not leaue The unplaged, for that thou hast	
[Sa] pt. xi	Mispente the gyftes thou didst receyue To lyue vpon, and not to wast.	52
	Then must thou nedes giue God glorie	
[Lu] ke .xv. for which you must be sorry.	For his vpryght and iust iudgement, And be most earnestly sorry, For that thou hast his gyftes mispent.	56
	But if thou finde thy conscience cleare, As few men can I am righte sure, Then let Iobs trouble be thi chere,	
Luk [xvi.] Mat [iv.]	That thou mayst pacientlie endure.	60
	Yea though thou shouldest perishe for fode,	
Psal [xvi.] Though you perish, bear it patiently.	Yet beare thou thy crosse patientlie ; For the ende shal turne the to good, Though thou lye in the stretes & die.	64

Pore Lazarus died at the gate
Of the ryche man (as Luke doth tell);
But afterwarde in rest he sate,
When the riche glutton was in hel.

Luk. [xvi.]
Remember
Lazarus and the
rich glutton,
68

Stay thou thi selfe therefore vpon
These examples comfortable,
And doubtles thy vocation
Thou shalt not thinke miserable.

Mat. [xvi.]
and take comfort
from them.
72

Neither shalt thou grudge, or repyne,
That thy pouertie is so greate;
But shalt thy selfe euer encline
To Goddes wyl, who doth the viset.

You must not
grudge or repine,
76

Thou shalt not grudge when *thou* shalte craue
Of anie man his charitie,
Though at his hand *thou* canst nought haue,
But shalt praie for him herteli,

80 but pray even
for those who
refuse to give you
when you ask.
i. Joh. [iii.]

That, if he haue this worldes riches,
And yet hath not Godly pitie,
The spirite of God will him possesse,
And teache him to know his duetie.¹

84 *Mat. x[xviii.]*

Thus doing, thou dost walke upright
In thy calling, thou maiest be sure,
And art more precious in Goddes syght
Then men that be ryche paste measure.

Luke [iii.]

Rom. [ii.]

Actu. i[v.]

88

Remain in
your calling,
ii. Tim. [iii.]
and at last you
will be rewarded.

Thus leaue I the in thi callinge,
Exhorting the ther in to stande;
And doutles at thy last endyng
Thou shalt be crowned at Gods han[de]

92 [*Sapti. [iii.]*

¶ The Seruauntes Lesson.

Brother, come hither unto m[e]
And learne some parte of di[s]cipline;
For I am sent to enstruct th[e],
And teach the some godlie doctryne.

¹ Orig. ouetie.

96 I am sent to
instruct you,
servants, and
give you godly
doctrine.

	I am sent to cal the, I say, Backe from thy stout & stubborne mynd : Take hede therfore, and beare away Such lessons as thou shalt here find.	100
[<i>Lu</i>] <i>h. xvi.</i> Your calling is to work and obey.	Fyrst, consider that thy calling Is to do seruice, and obey All thy maisters lawful biddynge ; Bearyng that he shal on the laye.	104
If your master is cruel, pray to the Lord,	If he be cruel unto the, And ouercharge the with labour, Cal to the Lord, and thou shalt be Shortly out of his cruel power.	108
[<i>Ex</i>] <i>odi. i.</i> and remember the Israelites in Egypt,	Remember thou Iacobs kynred, That in Egypt were sore oppreste ; But when they were most harde bested, The Lorde brought them to quiete reste.	112
whom God heard.	They could not cry so sone, but he Had heard and graunted their requeste : And right so wil he do by thee, And se al thi great wronges redreste.	116
[<i>M</i>] <i>at. xxi</i> He will deliver you out of bondage,	He wyl, I say, deliuer the Out of bondage and seruitude, And bringe to passe that thou shalt be Maister of a great multitude.	120
and make your servants obey you.	And bicause thou didest walke vpright, Shewyng thy selfe obedyent, Thy seruauntes shall haue styl in sighte The feare of God omnipotent.	124
<i>Mat. [vi.]</i> <i>and, [vii.]</i>	And like seruice as thou hast done, Thou shalt haue done to the againe : For sence the world was first begonne, Neuer true seruaunt lost his payne.	128
Jacob served 14 years, and <i>Gen. [xxix]</i> became rich,	Iacob serued full fourtene yere, And dealt truly with his maister, As in the Bible doth appeare, And was exceedinge rich after.	132

Fourtene yere he serued Laban,
Who was made riche be hys laboure;
But afterward, Iacob began
To growe to much greater honour.

Laban was neuer of such might
As Iacob was within short space:
For his true seruice, in Gods sight,
Had purchest him favour and grace.

Thus seest thou how God doth regard
The good service of seruauntes true,
And how he doth in them rewarde
The seruice that is but their due.

It forceth not what maner man
Thy maister is, so that thou be
In thy seruice a Christian,
Doynge as Christ commaundeth the.

But if thy maister be wicked,
And would haue the do wickedlie,
Then se that thy fayth be pitched
On thy Lord God most constantly.

Call to thy mynde good Daniel,
Who serued his prince faythfully,
Notwythstandynge he was cruel,
And eke his Lorde Gods enemy.

Serue him trulye, I say, for why
God hath bade that thou shouldest do so;
But do thou nothinge wickedly,
Neyther for wel nor yet for wo.

Se thou serue him as faythfully
As he were thy Lord and thy God;
Not wyth eye-seruice fainedly,
Neithyr for the feare of the rodde;

But for the conscience thou dost beare
To thy Lorde Gods commaundemente;
That is, for loue, and not for feare
Of any worldly punyshmente.

136 and increased in
honour.
Laban was never
so mighty as
Jacob.

140

144

i Petr. [ii.]
It does not
matter what your
master is.

148

If he wishes you
to do wrong, you
must have faith,

152

and call to mind
Daniel's conduct.

156

160

Serve your
master faithfully,
as if he were
your God,

164 [*Eph*es .vi.

[*Col*oss .iii.

but only for love,
not fear.

168

	Do thus, and then thou shalte be sure Thy Lord wil euer prospere the ; And at his good wil and pleasure, Thou shalt not mysse to be made fre.	172
If you are sturdy you will be punished,	But if thou wilt be styl sturdy, And do thy seruice wyth grudgyng ; The Lord shall plage the worthely, With manifulde kindes of scourginge.	176
and put to drudgery,	Thou shalt be put to drudgery Many a daye, maugrea thyne head ; And be kepte stil in slauery Al thy life dayes, til thou be deade.	180
and kept in slavery.	And if thou chaunce to renne awaye, Either thou shalt be brought agayne, Or else, when thou doest chaunce to staye, A worsse master shal the retayne.	184
If you run away, you will be caught, or get a worse master.	Once thou shalt be certeine of this, That, if thou refuse thy callyng, Of misery thou shalt not mysse, Though thou escape sodaine fallynge.	188
If you refuse your calling, you are sure to come to a bad end.	Yea though thou do prosper a whyle, And seme to haue fortune thi frende, Yet thou dost but thy selfe begyle, For miserye shal be thine ende.	192
As you have done, so shall men do to you.	For as thou didest thy maister serue, So shall al thy seruauntes serue the ; And as thou didest his goodes preserue, So shall thy goodes preserued be.	196
Besides, God punishes the disobedient,	And beside thys, Gods wrath is bent Toward the for disobedience ; Wherfore, onles thou do repent, He wyl adde thereto vehemence.	200
and He will punish you wondrously.	He wyl plage the here wonderously, And at the end cast the in paine, Wher thou shalt lye eternallye, And wysch to be a slaue agayne. ¹	204

¹ Orig. r gayne.

Repent therefore, I the advise,
And seke thine owne saluation ;
And then thou must in any wise
Walke stil in thy vocation.

208

Repent, and do
your duty
reverently.

Do thy service diligently,¹
And shew no disobedience ;
Be thou not stoute, but stil apply
And do all thynges with reuerence.

212

Refuse nothing
that must be
done :

Refuse nothing that must be done,
But do it wyth al redines ;
And when thou hast it once begon,
Then set asyde all slouthfulnes.

216

be true, trusty,
and don't trifle.

Be true, trusty, and tryfle not ;
Be gentle and obedient ;
And blessing shal lyght on thy lot,
For doying Gods commaundement.

220

To make an ende : haue stil in minde
Thyne estate and condition,
And let thyne herte be styll enclynde
To walke in thy vocation.

224

Remember your
condition, and
keep in it.

The Yeomans Lesson.

Thou that arte borne *the* ground to tyll,
Or for to laboure wyth thyne hande,
If thou wilt do nought *that* is yil,
Desyre not idle for to stande.

You that are a
tiller of the
ground, must not
remain idle,

228

But se thou do plowe, plant, and sow,
And do thy nedeful busines,
As one that doth his duty knowe,
And wyll not the Lords wyll transgresse.

you must plow,
plant, and sow.

232

For what doste thou, if thou desyr
To be a lord or gentleman,
Other then heape on the Gods ire
And shewe thy se[l]fe no Christian ?

If you desire to
be a gentleman,
you will gain
God's anger.

236

¹ Orig. diligently.

[J]ohn .x.	For Christes shepe do hear hys voyce,	
[E]xodi .xx.	Whych biddith the worke busily Sixe days, and in the seuenth reioyce, And geue somewhat to the nedy.	240
Beware of the desire to be higher,	It doth also byd the be ware Of the desyre to be alofte : For he that doth for honour care Falleth in Sathans snares ful oft.	244
and keep within your degree.	Haue minde, therefore, thyselfe to holde Within the bondes of thy degre, And then thou mayest euer be bold That God thy Lorde wyll prosper the.	248
If you have plenty, don't be Psal. 62 greedy,	And though the Lord geue the plentye Of corne, cattell, and other thynges, Be thou neuer the more gredy, Nor set thy mynd on gatheringe.	252
Prou. 24	But thinke the Lorde doth these thynges sende To the, as to his stuard true, That wilt not his goodes wast & spende, But bestow them wher they be due.	256
but give where there is need.	And if wyth thy labour thou get Money much more then thou doste nede, Do not thy mynde on rayment set, Neither on deynty fode to fede.	260
If you get rich, don't set your mind on clothes and dainty food,	Set not (I say) thy minde on pride, Neither upon delicious fare, Neither forget at any tyde To geue the pore that thou mayest spare.	264
but remember the poor, and be contented.	But when thou hast sufficient Of fode and honest apparrayle, Then holde thy selfe therwyth contente, As wyth the wage of thy trauayle.	268
e. Tim. v[i.]	The reste (if ought remayne vnspent Upon thyne owne necessity) Bestowe as he that hath it sent, Hath in hys word commaunded the.	272
If you have anything left, give it as God commands you.		

And yf thou fynd not written there
That *thou* mast heape thy chest wyth golde,
To hye greate liuelode for thyne hyere,
Howe darest thou then be so bold

276

How dare you
heard up riches!

Howe darest thou be bolde, I say,
To heape up so much goulde in store,
Out of the due that thou shouldest paye
To them that be pore, sicke, and sore?

280

Wo be to them, sayth Esaie,
That heape toghether house and lande;
As men that woulde neuer fynde stay,
Tyll all the earth were in theyr hande.

Esaie .v.

Isaiah pronounces
a woe upon all
such.

284

What, wil ye dwel alone (sayeth he)
Upon the earth that is so wyde?
Wyll you leaue no parte therof free
From your unsatiable pryde?

288

Ye nede not to be so gredy,
For the Lorde doth you playnly tell,
That greate houses shall stand empty,
And no man lefte therin to dwell.

292

Your greac
houses shall
stand empty.

And Moses sayth that *thou* shalt builde
Houses, and neuer dwell therin
Thyself, nor leaue them to thy chylde,
Nor any other of thy kynne.

[D]eu
xxvi[ti.]
You shall never
dwell in them,

296

And why? bicause thou hast no mynd
To kepe the Lords commaundement,
But sekest euer for to fynde
Wayes to encrease thine yerely rent.

because you have
no mind to keep
God's command-
ments.

300

No maner threatnyng can the let
From purchasyng the deuill and all;
It is all fysh that commeth to net,
To maintaine thy great pryde wyth all.

304

All is fesh that
comes to your
net—you would
buy the Devil.

Well, turne agayne I the aduise,
And learne to walke in thyne estate,
And set Gods feare before thyne eies,
Lest, when thou wouldst, it be to late.

308

But repent, and walk in your vocation.	And haue in thy mynde euer more, Thys rule of thy profession, Whych is in dede Gods holy lore, To walke in thy vocation.	312
i. Cor. [vii.]		
If you should not prosper, still thank God.	But if the Lorde do the not blesse In thy labours wyth greate plenty, Yet thanke thou hym neuer the lesse ; Thou hast more then thou arte worthy.	316
If your rent is raised, pray for your landlord.	If thy landelorde do reise thy rent, Se thou paye it wyth quietenes ; And praye to God omnipotent, To tak from hym his cruelnes.	320
So shall you obtain a blessing.	So shall <i>thou</i> heape coles on his heade, And purchase to thy selfe greate reste : By the same man thou shalt be fedde By whom thou wast before oppreste.	324
	For God, who ruleth ech mans herte, Shal turne thy landlords hert, I saye, And shall all his whole lyfe conuert, So that he shall by thy greate staye.	328
If he is not worthy to repent, God will destroy him,	Or else, if he be not worthy To be called to repentaunce, No doubt thy Lorde wyll hym distroy, Or take from hym his heritaunce.	332
and you will be set free.	Sure thou shalt be he wyll the set ¹ Free from thy landlords tyranny ; For he dyd neuer yet forget Any that walked orderly.	336
If you take the remedy into your own hand,	But if thou wylt neds take in hande Thyne owne wrong for to remedy, The Lord hym self wyll the wythstande, And make thy lan[d]lord more gredy.	340
it will be all the worse for you.	And wher before <i>thou</i> paidst great rent, Thou shalt now lose thy house and all ; Bicause thou couldest not be contente With patience on him to cal.	344

¹ Orig. looks like see.

In like sort, if thy prince wil take
More tribute then thou canst well spar,
See thou paye it him for Goddes sake,
Whose officers al princes are.

Pay all your,
taxes,
Mat .xii.
348

For in his nede both thou and thine
Are his to maintaine his estate ;
It is not for the to define
What great charges thy king is at.

and remember it
isn't for you to
say what the
king shall spend.
352

Yea, though thou se euidently
That he wasteth much more then nede,
Yet pay thy duty willyngly,
And doubtles God shal be thy mede.

Even if you see
his waste, it is
your duty to pay.
356

Now touching thy religion :
If thy prince do commaunde the ought,
Against Goddes Euangelion,
Then praye for him styl in thy thought.

If the king
commands you to
act contrary to
the gospel,
360

Pray for him styl, I say, that he
May haue Godly vnderstanding
To teach Gods word to such as be
Committed to his gouerning.

you must still
pray for him,
364

And se thou do not him dispyse,
But aunswere him wyth reuerence ;
And though *thou* mightest, yet in no wyse
Do thou forget obedience.

and answer him
with reuerence.
368

¶ Take not his swerde out of his hande,
But lay thy necke downe under it,
Yea, though *he* mightest his force withstand ;
For so to do for the is fit.

a. xiiii.
You must not
take the sword
into your own
hand.
372

Thy maister Christ hath taught *the* wel
When he would no resistence make :
Neither agaynst the powers rebell,
When men were sent him for to take.

Math 26.
376

Yet if the Lord haue geuen to the
Such knowledge, that thou art certaine
Of thy fayth, knowyng it to be
Of the truth, do therin remaine.

If you are
certain of your
faith, remain
in it.
380

<i>Math .x.</i>	For though man may thy body kyl, Yet oughtest thou not him to feare ; For he can do thy soule none yll : Wherefore be bold, do not dispaire.	384
Be bold to confess Christ— He can save you from all ill,	Be bold, I say, Christ to confesse Wythout feare of this worldly paine ; For when thou shalt be in distresse, Christ shal acknowledge the agayne.	388
<i>Luke .xxi</i> and will acknowledge you, if you conquer.	Christ shal acknowledge the, I say, If thou conquire by sufferiing ; And do thy selfe hereupon stay, That thou must walcke in thy callinge.	392
But if you lift your hand <i>Ma. .xvi</i> against the king,	But if thou do lyfte up thy sword Agaynst thy kynge and soueraine, Then art thou iudged by Gods word As worthi therwith to be slayne.	396
or repine against him,	Yea, thou maist not grudge or repine Against thy kynge in any wise, Though thou shouldst se plaine with thine eien That he were wicked past al sise.	400
<i>Pro .viii.</i> remember he is appointed by God, and,	For it is God that appointeth Kinges and rulers ouer the route : And with his power he anointeth Them for to be obeyede, no doubt.	404
if he is evil, to punish your sins.	If they be euil, then thinke thy sinne Deseruith that plage at Gods hande ; And se thou do forthwyth bigynne Thyne owne wickednes to wythstande.	408
Korah and Dathan rebelled,	Corah and Dathan dyd rebell, And thought <i>that</i> thei <i>them</i> selues culd poynt A better prieste in Israell Then Aaron, whom God dyd annoynte.	412
and were destroyed.	But what came of their phantasie ? Was not distruction theyr ende ? God dyd distroye them sodenly, Bicause thei woulde his workes emende.	416

Let this example suffice the,	✓	Let their fate keep you in obedience,
To kepe the in obedience		
To such as God shal set to be		
Ouer the in preheminance.	420	
If thou do thus, thou shalt be sure		
That God thy Lord wyll euer se		
That, though thy rulars be not pure,		and then your rulers will defend you.
Yet they shall euer defende the.	424	
Contrariwise, if thou rebell,		If you rebel, as you did lately, yor will be destroyed.
Be sure the Lorde wyll the distroye ;		
Which thyng hath ben declared wel		
Wythin this realme very lately.	428	
For notwithstanding <i>that</i> oure kynge,		
And eke oure rulers euerychone,		
Be mercifull in theyr doynge,		
Yet haue the rebelles cause to mone.	432	
And why ? bicause no rebelles shall		
Escape Gods hand vnpunished ;		
For God hym selfe doth princis call		Princes are God's anoyned,
Hys Christes and hys annoynted.	436	
Whoso therfore doth them resiste,		and those who resist them resist Him
The [s]ame resisteth God certayne ;		<i>Rom xi[ii.]</i>
For God hym selfe doeth them assiste		
Agaynst them ouer whom they raygne.	440	
If thou therfore fynde the greeued		
Wyth men set in Autoritie,		
Seke thou not to be auenged,		
But let God take vengeance for the.	444	
Let me take vengeance, saith the Lord,		to whom vengeance
And I wyll quyte them all theyr hyre :		<i>Eccle. [xii.]</i>
Do thus, and scripture doth recorde		belongs.
That thou shalt haue all thy desyre.	448	
Thou shalt haue thy desyre, I saye,		<i>Rom. x[ii.]</i>
Upon the wicked maiestrate,		Keep yourself within bounds, and you will have your desire of wicked magis- trates.
If thou wylt kepe thy selfe alway		
Wythin the boundes of thine estate.	452	

You'll go to hell
if you will
change.

Thus leaue I the, wyth threatenynge
To the thy soules damnation,
If thou, mislykynge thy callynge,
Wylt nedes change thy vocation.

456

The Lewde or Vnlerned Priestes Lesson.

Listen, Sir John,
and I will say
something to
you.

Thou that art lewde wythoute learnynge,
Whom comunly men cal syr Iohn,
Geue eare, for I wyll saye somethynge
Concernynge thy vocation. 460

You are ignorant,
and without good
qualities.

Thou art a man voide of knowledge,
And eke of all good qualities,
Only mete for to dych and hedge,
Or else to plant and graffe mens trees. 464

You are not an
offerer of
sacrifice,

Thou art not, as thou woldst be calde,
An offerer of sacrifice ;
For though thy crowne were iiii tymes bald,
Yet canst thou not so bler our eies. 468
For it is plaine in holy wryte,

for none can offer
for sin,
[H]ebreu .x.

That none can offer sacrifices
For sinne, either in flesh or sprite,
Though he be boeth learned and wyse ; 472

since Christ was
offered for all,
[H]ebreu. ix

For Christe was once offered for all,
To satisfie for all our synne,
And hath made fre that erste were thral,
The faythful flocke of Iacobs kynne. 476

To offer sacrifice therfor,
Thou arte not called, I tell the playne ;

[R]om .vi.

and He can no
more be slain.

For Christe lieueth for euermore,
And can no more for vs be slayn. 480

Thy state therfore, and thy callynge,
Is none other than for to wrycke,

[Thr]ene. .iii.

[Pr]ov .v.

And not to liue by forestallyng,
And name thy selfe one of the kyrcke. 484

If thou therefore wylt lyue for aye,
And reigne with Christe for euermore,
Desyre no mo masses to saye,
But get thy fode wyth laboure sore.

If you desire to
live for ever,
don't seek
masses.
[E]phes .iiii.

488

Geue over all thy tippillyng,
Thy tauerne gate, and table playe,
Thy cardes, thy dyce, and wyne bihyng,
And learne to walke a sobre waye.

Give over tipping
and gambling,
[E]phes .v.

492

And if thou haue any lyueyng,
So that thou nede not to laboure ;
Se thou apply the to learnynge
Wyth all thy busy endeouore.

i Tim i[r.]
and apply
yourself to
learning,

496

But to thys ende se thou study,
That, when thou hast the truth learned,
Thou maist profite other thereby,
Whom in tyme paste thou hast harmed.

that you may
profit others.

500

And se thou go not idelly
From house to house, to seke a place
To saye men a masse secr[e]tly,
Theyr fauoure thereby to purc[h]ase.

Do not say
masses in secret,
leading men to
think popish
customs will be
restored.

504

Put not the ignorant in hope
That they shall se all vp againe,
That hath ben broughte in by the Pope,
And all the preachars put to payne.

508

But if thou canste do any good
In teachyng of an A B C,
A primar, or else Robynhode,
Let that be good pastyme for the.

If you can do
good by teaching
A B C, do so.

512

Be euer doying what thou can,
Teachyng or learnyng some good thyng ;
And then, lyke a good Christian,
Thou doste walke forth in thy callynge.

Always do as
much good as you
can.

516

But if thou wylt knowledge reiect,
And all honeste laboures refuse,
Then arte thou none of Gods elect,
But art wo[r]sse then the cursed Iewes.

If you reject
labour and
knowledge, you
are worse than a
Jew.

520 Rom. x.

¶ Repent therefore, I the aduise,
 And take wholsome counsell bityme ;
 And take good hede in any wise,
 That knowledg double not thy crime. 524

I will pray that
 you may leave
 your popishness.
 Thus leaue I the, makynge promes
 To make for the petition,
 That thou mayst leue thy popyshnes,
 And walke in thy vocacion. 528

The Scholars Lesson.

Come hither, young man, vnto me ;
 Thou that arte brought up in learnynge,
 Geue eare awhile ; I wil teach the
 How thou shalt walke in thy callynge. 532

Glve ear, young
 man,
 and observe that
 schools were
 founded
 First mark wherfore scholes were erecte,
 And what the founders did intende ;
 And then do thy study directe,
 For to attaine vnto that ende. 536

for such learning
 as the country
 had need of.
 Doubtles this was al their meaning,
 To haue their coundrei furnyshed
 Wyth all poyntes of honest learnynge,
 Whereof the publyke weale had nede. 540

Call thou therfore to memorie
 What knowledg thy coundrei doth lacke,
 And apply the same earnestly,
 By all the meanes that thou canste make. 544

When you have
 decided what
 knowledge to get,
 get it at once,
 And when thou art determined
 What knowledg thou wilt most apply,
 Then let it not be loytered,
 But seke to get it spedily. 548

and do not idle.
 Spende not thy tyme in idlenes,
 Nor in vayne occupation ;
 But do thy selfe wholly addres
 To walke in thy vocation. 552

Se thou do not thy mynde so set
On any kynde of exercise,
That it be either stay or let
To thy studye in ani wise :

556

For field sports
and music no
man can blame
you.

To fyshe, to foule, to hunt, to haulke,
Or on an instrument to play ;
And some whyles to commune and talke,
No man is able to gayne saye.

560

Archery, casting
the bar, tennis,
and such games,

To shote, to bowle, or caste the barre,
To play tenise, or tosse the ball,
Or to rene base, like men of war,
Shal hurt thy study nought at al.

564

serve for
recreation, if
used moderately.

For all these thinges do recreate
The minde, if thou canst holde *the* mean ;
But if thou be affectionate,
Then dost thou lose thy studye cleane.

568

And at the last thou shalt be founde
To occupye a place only
As do in Agime ziphres rounde,
And to hynder learnyng greatlye.

572

If you did not
occupy your
living another
would, who might
do better.

For if thou hadst not the lyueing,
Another shoulde, that wold apply
Him selfe to some kynde of learnynge,
To profyte his contrey therby.

576

If thou therfore wilte not be founde
Worthy Goddes indignacion,
Make thy studye perfecte and sounde,
And walke in thy vocacion.

580

Make your study
perfect.

Let not tyme passe the idelly,
Lose not the fruite of any houre ;
Or else suffer hym to supply
Thy place, that wyll hym endeuoure.

584

if you are, you
only rob the
commonwealth.

Thou doest but rob *the* commone wealth
Of one that would be a treasur ;
Better thou were to lyue by stelth,
Then for to worke such displeasure.

588

There is no need for you to resign your living,	¶ But haply thou wylt say agayne, Shall I surrender my lyuyng? Shall I not therupon remayne, After I haue gotten learnyng?	592
but you must keep yourself [L]uke .xix. exercised,	¶ Yesse thou maiste kepe thy lyuyng still, Tyll thou be called other wise; But if thou wylt regarde Gods wyll, Thou must thyself styll exercise.	596
and must teach others, [L]uke .xix.	When thou art thorowely learned, Then se thou teach other thy skyll, If thou wylt not be reconed For a seruant wycked and ill.	600
and let your life be as a book before them.	¶ Teach them, I saye, that thou dost se Wyllynge to learne thy discipline, And vnto them se thy lyfe be A boke to laye before theyre eine.	604
	Let them neuer se the idle, Nor heare the talke vndiscretely; And by all the meanes possible, Let all thy doynge edifie.	608
	Thus leaue I the, wyshynge that thou Maiste, by thys admonition, Henseforth desyre, as I do nowe, To walke in thy vocation.	612

The Learned Mans Lesson.

Don't you learned men disdain to learn of me.	T hou learned man, do not disdayne, To learne at me, a symple wyght, Thy greate abuses to refrayne, And in thy callyng to go ryght.	616
If you live dissolutely, you are an offence to the simple.	Thou arte a man that sittest hye In the simple mans conscience; To lyue therfore dissolutly, Thou shouldste be vnto them offence.	620

¶ Offence, I say, for thou shouldest think
 All that thou doste to be godly ;
 Wherefore do not at this thyng wynck,
 But do emende it spedily.

Emende thy wycked lyfe, I say,
 And be (in dede) a perfecte lyght,
 As Christe our Savioure dothe say,
 And let thy workes shine in mans syght,

For it is thy vocation
 To leade other the redy waye ;
 Howe greate abomination,
 Arte thou then if thou go astraye ?

But herein lyeth the whole matter,—
 To know which waye thou shouldest then lead :
 Wherefore I wil not the flatter,
 But tell the truth wythouten dreade.

Thou must thy selfe humiliate,
 And acknowledge thy wycked sinne,
 And stryue to enter the streyt gate,
 Where fewe men do fynde a waye in.

¶ This way thou canst not walke, so longe
 As thou wylt trauaile sea and lande,
 And frame all the wordes of thy tonge,
 To get promotion at mans hande.

Thou must humble thy selfe I saye,
 And not aye seke to be alofte ;
 For he that walketh in rough waye,
 And loketh hye, stobleth ful oft.

Thou must acknowledge that thou arte,
 Through synne, vnworthy thyne estate,
 And that thy discipline and arte
 Can not brynge the in at that gate.

Thou must, I saye, stryue to enter,
 And not to get promocion ;
 Thy lyfe thou must put in venture
 For Christes congregation.

624 *Math [xviii.]*

Amend your life
 and serve as a
 light to others.

628

i. Corh [iv.]
 If you lead men
 astray, you are
 an abomination.

632

636

You must humble
 yourself, and
 acknowledge
 your sin.
Mat. [vii.]

640

644 You cannot do
 this while you
 are seeking
 promotion from
 man.

648

You must confess
 your unworthi-
 ness.

652

John. x

656

You must
 venture your life
 for Christ.

- How dost thou walke in thys calling,
 When thy mynde is earnestly bent
 To gather up eche mans falling,
 By al the wayes thou canst inuent? 660
- Mat .vii.*
 Give ear, you fool,
 and learn your
 first lesson again,
 Geue eare, I saye, therefore thou fole,
 And learne thy fyrst lesson agayne :
 Enter into Gods holi schole,
 And do not hys doctryne dysdayne. 664
- [L]uke .vi.*
 and take the
 beam out of your
 own eye,
 He wyll eth the fyrst to apply
 Thy mynde to knowledge, and to take
 The great beame out of thyne own eye,
 And thine abuses to forsake. 668
- then you will
 pick the motes
 from other men's
 eyes.
 And then he wolde, that in no wyse
 Thou shouldest be slacke or negligent
 To pycke the motes out of mens eyes,
 Teaching them how they should repent. 672
- [T]i:te .ii.*
 If thou wylt that thei do repente,
 Repent thou fyrst, that they maye see
 That the whole some of thyne intente
 Is to make them like vnto the. 676
- If you wish
 others to repent
 and forsake their
 sins,
 For, if thou wylt them to refraine
 Mur[t]her, thefte, whoredome, & incese,
 If they se these thynges in the raigne,
 They wyl al thy doctryne deteste. 680
- you must set
 them an example.
 If thou forbid them gluttononye,
 And wil them the flesh for to tame,
 They wil defie the vtterly,
 If they se the not do the same. 684
- If you speak of
 their apparel,
 you must be
 faultless yourself.
 If thou tel them of apparayle.
 Or of ought wherin is excesse,
 Then wil they say, thou doest but rayle,
 Unlesse thou be therin faultles. 688
- If you speak of
 usury or simony,
 see that you are
 free.
 What shouldest thou speake of vsurie,
 When thou dost take vnlawfull gayne?
 Or rebuke men for Simonie,
 When nothyng else doeth in the rayne? 692

Maye not the lay man sauffy saye,
I learned of the to by and sel
Benefices ? whych, to thys daye,
Thou canst put in practise ful well.

696

Why should not a
layman have two
or three benefices
as well as you ?

Why should not I, as well as thou,
Haue benifices two or thre ?
Sens thou hast taught me the wei how
I may kepe them and blamelesse be.

700

He can set others
to serve the cure
as learned as you
are ;

I can set one to serue the cure,
That shall excel the in learninge,
More then thou dost me, I am sure ;
And also in godly lyueynge.

704

he can give as
much to the poor
as you give.

I can kepe hospitalite,
And geue as much vnto the pore
In one yere, as thou dost in thre,
And wyl performe it wyth the more.

708

Alas ! that
Christ's flock
should be so
bought and sold.

Alas ! that euer we should se
The flocke of Christ thus bought & solde,
Of them that shoulde the shepherdes be,
To leade them saiffly to the folde.

712

¶ Repent this thyng, I the aduise,
And take the to one cure alone ;
And se that in most faythfull wise,
Thou walk in thy vocation.

Take to one cure
and be faithfull,

716

then none can
blame you.

Then shall no lay man saye, by right,
That he learned his misse of the ;
For it is playne, in ech mans syght,
That thou dost walke in thy degree.

720

If you are a
prelate, look to
your office ;

Morouer, if thou chance to be
Made a prelate of hygh estate,
To thyne office loke that thou se,
And leaue not thy flocke desolate.

724

seek for good
ministers ;

And fyrste, before all other thynges,
Seke thou to fynde good ministers,
And appoynt them honest lyuynge,
To be the peoples instructers.

728 [i] Tim .v.

have none in whom is any vice.	Let none haue cure wythin thy see, In whome any greate vice doth reigne ; For where mislyuyng curates be,	
[<i>Ex</i>] <i>ech</i> .33. If any perishe through you, you will have to answer for them. [<i>i</i>] <i>Tim</i> . v.	The people are not good certayne. And for them all that do perishe Through thy defalte, thou shalt answer ; Wherefore, I do the admonishe To loke earnestly to thys geare.	732 736
Do not trust to any trifier,	Loke vnto it thy selfe, I saye, And truste not to a tryfelar, That wyll allowe all that wyl paye Somewhat vnto the regester.	 740
and see that the young are instructed.	Se that they do instruct the youthe Of eche paryshe diligently, And trayne them vp in the Lords truth, So much as in theyr powre shall ly.	 744
If you are called to be the prince's counsellor,	Now if so be thou be called, To be thy Princes counselloure, Beware thou be not corrupted By the vayne desyre of honoure.	 748
be bold to speak the truth,	Be not carful how for to holde Thy selfe styll in autoritie ; But to speake truth be euer bolde, Accordyng to Goods veritie.	 752
and exhort him to leave his sins,	¶ Winke not at faltes that thou shalt se, Though it be in thy Souerayne ; But do as it becometh the : Exhort hym all vice to refrayne.	 756
and tell him his faults with all submission.	If thou perceyue him ignoraunt In any parte of hys dutie, Se thou do hym not checke or taunte, But tell hym wyth sobrietie.	 760
	Tell hym his falte, I say, playnly, And yet wyth all submission ; Lesse thou do seme to speake vaynly, Forgettyng thy vocation.	 764

Thus haue I tolde the, as I woulde
Be tolde, if I were in thy place ;
To the intent that no man should
Haue cause to tel the to thy face.

768

Thus I have told
you your duty.

Thus do I leaue the wyth wyshyng
To the a wyll for to aduaunce
Gods glorie by godly learnyng,
And not thy lyuyng to enhaunce.

772

The Phisicians Lesson.

Gue eare, maister Phisicion,
And set asyde thyne vrinall,
And that wyth expedition,
For I the laste trumpet do call.

Attend, Master
Physician, and
mark my words
well.

776

Geue eare, I say, and mark me well ;
And printe all my wordes in thy mynde,
For ech thyng that I shall the tell
Thou shalt boeth true and certen fynde.

780

God made the to succour mans nede,
As Iesus Sirach wryteth playne,
But by due proufe we know in dede
That many thousandes thou hast slaine.

God made you to
succour man,
[Ec]cles. 38

784 but you kill him.

But now am I sent from the kynge
Of powre and domination,
To call the from thy murtherynge,
To walke in thy vocation.

788

First, wher thou didest heretofore vse
To haue respect to the ryche man,
I woulde not now thou shouldest refuse
To helpe the pore man if thou can.

You have paid
respect to the
rich; now help
the poor,

792

Helpe hym, I saye, though he be pore,
And haue nothyng wherwith to paye,
For hys maister hath yet in store
A crowne for him at the laste daye.

even when he has
nothing with
which to pay.

796 [T]ob. ii.

Cure him for
God's sake, and
He will reward
you.

And if thou do on him thy cure,
For hys sake *that* geue herbes their strength,
Thou shalt vndoubtedly be sure
He wyll rewarde the at the length.

800

[*Ma*]th. ix.
He rewards those
who give a cup
of water.

Thys maister of hys doth regarde
Mercie so much, that he hath tolde
All hys that they shal haue rewarde
For geuyng water thyne and colde.

804

And thinkest thou that he wyll not
Rewarde them that geue medicine?
Thou hast no such mistruste, I wot,
In hys promise that is diuine.

808

If you can cure
the poor, you
may be sure of
your reward.

I saye therfore, if thou canst cure
The pore mans sore or maladi,
Of thy rewarde thou shalt be sure,
If thou wylt shewe on hym mercie.

812

If you neglect
him because he
has no gold, your
trust shall fail.

But if thou suffer hym to lacke
Thyne helpe, bicause he lacketh goulde,
No doubt when thou shalt acompt make
Thy confidence shall be full colde.

816

What authority
have you for
neglecting the
poor?

Then shew thy writyng if thou can,
Wheron thou bearest the so bolde,
That thou wylt viset no sicke man
That cannot lyne thy pursse with golde.

820

Brynge forth thy writyng then, I say,
If thou haue any such in store,
Wherby thou maiste require eche daye
A noble of golde or else more.

824

What right have
you to charge for
looking at water,

And shewe by what right thou maist take
Two pence for the sight of water,
When thou knowest not therbi to make
The sicke man one farthinge better.

828

when you cannot
tell whether a
man is ill or not?

Yea, if a man should try the wel,
To proue what thy counnyng can do,
He should fynde that thou canst not tell
Whether the man be sycke or no.

832

- ¶ I graunt the water sheweth somthyng,
 But not so much as thou dost crake ;
 Neither is thy laboure condyng
 That thou shouldest money for it take. 836
 But if so be thou canste espy
 By the water what is amisse,
 Teach hym how to seke remedy,
 And worthy some rewarde that is. 840
 But if thou do but gesse, as doeth
 The blyndeman that doth cast hys staff ;
 Though thou by chaunce hit on the soth,
 Thy labour is scase worthy chaffe. 844
 Thou dost but gesse money to wyn,
 And wyth strang words make men agast ;
 And yet thou thinckeste it no synne
 To cause pore men theyr goods to wast. 848
 But now, I saye to the, repent,
 And do thy selfe henseforth applye
 To vse the gifte God hath the sent,
 To the profite of thy contrey. 852
 Let not lucre make the professee
 Before thy knowleege be perfect ;
 For he that ministreth by gesse,
 Shall not so sone heale as infect. 856
 Apply the earnestli therfore
 To get phisikes perfection ;
 That thou maiste ease the sike and sore,
 And remedy infection. 860
 And shut not vp thine helpe from suche
 As stande in moste nede of the same,
 And certes thou shalt gaine as much
 By them, as by men of greate fame : 864
 For God hymselfe hath promised
 To make for them a recompence
 Wherfore doubt not to be paied,
 Both for thy laboure and expence. 868

Water may show
 something, but
 not much.

If you only guess,
 but chance to
 hit the truth,
 your labour is not
 worth much.

You only guess to
 win money.

Repent, and
 apply yourself to
 profit your
 country.

Strive to ease the
 sick and remedy
 infection.

Help the poor
 and needy, and

[M]ath .16.

[L]uk .10.
 God will
 recompense you.

If you will not
listen,

But if thou wylt not take my rede,
But folowe after lucre styll,
I wyl put the out of all drede
Thy last rewarde shall be full ill.

872

when you die

For when cruel death shall the styng,
And thy lyfe from the separate,
Then shalt thou se thou hast nothyng,
Thy silly soule to recreate.

876

you will despair
of God's mercy.

Wherefore I must nedes greatly feare
That in that extreme agonie,
Thou wylt of Gods mercie dispare,
And so perishe eternally.

880

Take heed while
you have time.

Take hede therfor, take hede by time,
Let not slyppe this occasion ;
But spedily repent thy cryme,
And walke in thy vocation.

884

The Lawiars Lesson.

Nowe come hither thou manne of lawe,
And marcke what I shall to the saye,
For I intende the for to drawe
Out of thy moste vngodly waye.

888

Your calling, the
Law, is good if
you walk aright,
but you are so
greedy,

Thy callyng is good and godly,
If thou wouldste walke therin aryght ;
But thou art so passing greedy,
That Gods feare is out of thy syght.

892

there is no limit
to your desires.

Thou climist so to be alofte,
That thy desyre can haue no staye ;
Thou hast forgotten to go soft,
Thou art so hasty on thy way.

896

God's wrath is
bent against you.

But now I call the to repent,
And thy gredines to forsake,
For Gods wrath is agaynst the bent,
If thou wylt not my warnyng take.

900

Fyrst call vnto thy memorye
For what cause the laws wer fyrst made ;
And then apply the busily
To the same ende to vse thy trade.

Remember why
laws were first
made.

904

The lawes were made, vndoubtedly
That al suche men as are oppreste,
Myght in the same fynde remedy,
And leade their lyues in quiet reste.

They were made
to relieve the
oppressed.

908

Doest thou then walke in thy callyng,
When, for to vexe the innocent,
Thou wilt stand at a barre ballyng
Wyth al the craft thou canst inuente ?

912

I saye ballyng, for better name
To haue it can not be worthye ;
When lyke a beast, withoute al shame,
Thou wilt do wrong to get money.

Is it well for you
to stand bawling
like a beast to get
money ?

916

Thyne excuses are knowne to well,
Thou saist thou knowest not the matter,
Wherefore thou sayst thou canst not tel
At the firste whose cause is better.

You say you
don't know whose
matter is right ;

920

Thou knowest not at *the* first, I graunt,
But whye wylt thou be retained
Of playntyfe, or of defendaut,
Before thou hast their cause learned ?

but why are you
retained before
you learn the
cause ?

924

For such a plea I blame the not,
When neither parties right is knowne ;
But when thou thy selfe dost well wot
Thy client seketh not his owne,

I do not blame
you for this plea,
when neither
party's right is
known.

928

It were a godly way for the
To knowe the ende ere thou began,
But if that can bi no meanes be,
To make shorte sute do what thou can.

932

If thou be a mans attorney,
In any court where so it be,
Let him not waite and spende money,
If his dispatch do lie in the.

If you are
attorney for any
man, don't delay
his case,

936

	Apply his matter earnestly, And set him going home againe,	
and take no more than your due. <i>Luke x[iv.]</i>	And take no more then thy dutie ; For God shall recompence thi paine.	940
If you are a counsellor, don't be a trifier ;	If thou be calde a counsellor, And many men do seke thy read ; Se thou be found no truffeller, Eyther for money or for dreade.	944
	But weigh mens matters thorowlie, And se what may be done by right,	
assist the poor as well as the rich ; <i>Leuit. [xix.]</i>	And further as well the neadie As thou woldest do the man of might.	948
respect no man's person.	Se thou haue no respect at all To the person, but to the cause ; And suffer not suche truth to fall As thou findest grounded on good lawes.	952
If a wrong-doer wishes you to defend him, don't.	If any man do the desyre Him to defend in doinge wronge, Though he woulde geue the triple hire, Yet geue none eare unto his songe.	956
Fear no man's power, but fear the Lord.	Fear not his power, though he be king, A duke, an earle, a lord, or knight ; But euermor in thy doinge Haue the Lordes feare present in syght.	960
If you are a judge, beware of bribes, [i] <i>Parl. 22.</i>	If thou be iudge in commune place, In the kinges bench, or Exchequier, Or other courte, let not thy face Be once turned to the briber.	964
lest they blind your sight.	Beware <i>that</i> bribes blinde not thy sight And make the that thou canst not se To judge the pore mans cause aryght,	
<i>Deut .xxvi.</i>	When it is made open to the.	968
<i>Eccles .xx.</i> Admit no delays.	Why shouldest thou stil admyt delaies In matters that be manifest ? Why doest thou not seke all the wayes That may be to rid the oppreste ?	972

To thine office it doeth belonge
 To iudge as iustice doth require ;
 Though the party that is to stronge,
 Would geue the house and land to hire.

Leuit. xiii
 and do justice to
 all men.
 976

I haue no more to say to the,
 But warne the that thou be contente
 To lyue only vpon thy fee,
 Fearyng the Lorde omnipotente.

I warn you to be
 content with
 your fees,
 980

And for to see that no man wrest
 The lawes, to do any man wronge ;
 And that no pore man be oppreste,
 Nor haue his sute deferred longe.

and to see that
 the poor are not
 oppressed.
 984

Now if thou be Lord Chauncelloure,
 As censor ouer al the rest ;
 Se thou do thy best endeuour
 To see al open wronges redrest.

If you are Lord
 Chancellor, see
 all wrongs
 redressed,
 988

And of this one thyng take good hede,
 That amonge them that do appeale,
 Thou do not, for fauoure or mede,
 Suffer any falsely to deale.

and show no
 fauour.
 992

Beware of them, I saye, that vse
 First for to tempt the commune lawes,
 And yet the iudgement to refuse
 When they be like to lose their cause.

Beware of such
 as refuse to abide
 by the laws.
 996

Beware of them, and let them not
 Abuse thy courte in any wyse,
 To werie suche as, by iuste lotte,
 To cleim their ryght do enterpryse.

1000

When they shall make petition
 Examine them diligently,
 And graunt not an iniunction
 To eche false harlot by and by.

Be careful in
 granting
 injunctions.
 1004

Graunt thou not an iniunction
 To him that doth nought else entende,
 But, by subtile inuention,
 His owne falsehode for to defend.

1008

You may see your duty in God's word. I nede not to tel any more
Of thy duetie ; thou maigest it se
In Gods sacred and holye worde,¹
If thou wylt there to applie the. 1012

So I leave you. Thus leaue I the, thou man of lawe,
Wyshing the to be as wyllyng
To folowe, as I am to draw
The backe agayne to thy callynge. 1016

The Marchauntes Lesson.

You who buy and sell may mark my words. **N**owe marke my wordes thou marchaunte man,
Thow *that* dost vse to bie and sell,
I wyll enstruct the, if I can,
How thou maiste vse thy callynge well. 1020

Consider for what end all men are made. Fyrst se thou cal to memori
The ende wherfore al men are made,
And then endeuour busily
To the same ende to vse thy trade. 1024

The ende why all men be create,
As men of wisdomes do agre,
Is to maintaine the publike state
In the contrei where thei shal be. 1028

It is to maintain the public state. ¶ Apply thy trade therfore, I sai,
To profit thy countrey with al ;
And let conscience be thy stay,
That to pollinge thou do not fal. 1032

If you import profitable things, let the poor have them at a reasonable rate. If thou venter into straunge landes,
And bringe home thynges profitable ;
Let pore men haue them at thine handes
Upon a price reasonable. 1036

If you do not, you will be punished in the end. Though *thou* maist thi money forbear,
Til other mens store be quite spent,
Yet if thou do so, that thy ware
May beare high price, *thou* shalt be shente. 1040

¹ Orig. lorde.

- Thou shalt be shent of him, I say,
That on the seas did prospere the,
And was thy guide in al the way
That thou wentest in great ieopardye. 1044
- For he gaue the not thy rychesse,
To hurt thi contrei men withal ;
Neither gaue he the good successe,
That thou sholdst therby make men thral. 1048
- But thy richesse was geuen to the,
That thou mightest make prouision,
In farre contreys, for thinges that be
Nedefull for thine owne nacion. 1052
- And when, by Gods helpe, *thou* hast brought
Home to thy coast ani good thing
Then shouldest *thou* thank hym that all wrought
For thy prosperouse returnyng. 1056
- Whych thyng thou *canst* not do in dede,
Unles thou walke in thy calling ;
And for hys sake that was thy spede,
Content thy selfe wyth a lyuynge. 1060
- But oh ! me thynke I wryte in vayne
To marchaunte men of thys our tyme ;
For they wyll take no maner payne,
But only vpon hope to clyme. 1064
- So sone as they haue oughte to spare,
Besyde theyr stocke that muste remayne,
To purchase landes is al theyr care
And al the study of theyr brayne. 1068
- Ther can be none vnthrifty heyre,
Whome they will not smel out anon,
And handle him *with* wordes ful fayre,
Tel al his landes is from him gone. 1072
- The fermes, the woodes, and pasture grounds,
That do lye round about London,
Are hedged in within their mowndes,
Or else shalbe ere they haue done. 1076

God gave you
riches

that you might
make necessities
for your country,

and when you
have brought
any good thing
home,

you should thank
Him for your
prosperity.

But I write in
vain.

Merchants, as
soon as they have
gained anything,
purchase lands.

They smell out
unthrifty heirs;

they have farms
round London;

they have their spies on every side.	They haue thier spies vpon eche syde To se when ought is lyke to fal ; And as sone as ought can be spied, They are ready at the fyrst cal.	1080
Some think the buying and selling of farms cause white meat to be so dear.	I can not tel what it doeth meane, But white meate beareth a greate pryce Which some men thinke is by the meane That fermes be found such marchaundise.	1084
The poor man must now pay double rent, or quit. The collier and woodmonger	For what is it when the pore man, That erst was wont to pay but lite, Must now nedes learne (do what he can) To playe eyther double or quite.	1088
say their prices are doubled.	If ye aske of the coliar, Why he selleth hys coles so dere, And rightso of the wodmongar, They say marchauntes haue all in fere.	1092
I am ashamed of the abuses among merchants,	The wood; say thei, <i>that</i> we haue bought In tymes paste for a crowne of golde, We cannot haue, if it be ought, Under ten shylynges ready told.	1096
so I will do what I can to teach you your vocation.	I am ashamed for to tell Halfe the abuse that all men se, In such men as do by and sell, They be so bad in eche degre.	1100
Trade for the profit of your country,	I wyl therfore do what I can To make plaine desiaratyon, How thou, that art al marchauntman, Maist walke in thy vocation.	1104
then you will not need to take leases of grounds.	Applye thy trade, as I haue tolde, To the profyt of thy contrey, And then thou maiste ¹ eer be bolde That thy Lord God wil guide thy wai.	1108
	Thou shalt not nede to purchase landes, Neyther to take leases in groundes, That, when thou hast them in thyne handes, Thou maist for shyllinges gather poundes.	1112

¹ Orig. maïsse.

Thou shalt not nede to bie or sel		You may neither
Benefices, which should be fre,		buy and sell
To true preachers of Gods gospell,		benefices,
To helpe <i>them</i> with that helpeles be.	1116	
No more shalte thou nede for to lende		nor lend for
Thy goodes out for vnlawful gayne,		unlawful gain.
In such sort that, by the yeares ende,		
Thou maist of one shillyng make twaine.	1120	<i>Luke. vi</i>
Thou shalt aye haue inough in store		If you have
For the and thine in thy degre ;		enough, why
And what shouldst thou desire more,		desire more"
Or of hygher estate to be ?	1124	
Let it suffice the to mary		Marry your
Thy daughter to one of thy trade :		daughter to your
Why shouldest thou make hir a lady,		equal,
Or bye for her a noble warde ?	1128	
And let thy sonnes, euery chone,		and bind your
Be bounde prentise yeres nine or ten,		sons apprentice.
To learne some art to lyué vpon :		
For why should they be gentelmen ?	1132	
There be already men inowe		There are plenty
That beare the name of gentil bloud ;		of gentlemen.
Tell thou me <i>then</i> , what nede haste thou		
So vainly to bestow thy good ?	1136	
For thou canst not promote thy sonne,		If you promote
But thou must bye him land and rent,		your son, you
Wherby some must neades be vndone,		must buy him
To bryng to passe thy fonde entent.	1140	land.
Some man, perchaunce, nede doeth compel		
To morgage hys lande for money ;		If a man must
And wilt thou cause hym for to sell		mortgage his
The liuelode of his progeny ?	1144	land—why do you
Tel me if <i>thou</i> wouldest haue thy sonne		compel him to
(If haply he should stand in nede)		sell ?
To be so serued, when thou art gone,		
Of marchauntes that shall the succede ?	1148	Would you like
		your son so
		served ?

- [M]at. vii.*
Do as you would
be done by,
Do thou as thou wouldest be done by,
As very nature doth the teache,
And let thy loue and charitie
Unto all the Lordes creatures reach ; 1152
And if any man stande in nede,
[L]uke. vi.
and lend to the
needy.
Lende hym frely that thou maiste spare,
And doubtlesse God wyll be thy mede,
And recompence the in thy ware. 1156
Be iuste, playne, and not disceytefull,
[M]at. v.
and God will
increase your
store.
And shewe mercie vnto the pore,
And God, that is moste mercifull,
Shall euermore encrease thy store. 1160
And in the ende, when nature shall
Ende thy peregrination,
Thou shalt haue ioye emonge them all
That walkt in theyr vocation. 1164
But, if thou do refuse to walke
*But if you refuse
to do as I have
told you,*
In thy calling, as I haue tolde,
Thy wisdom shalbe but vaine talke,
Though thou be both auncient and olde. 1168
Saye what thou wylt for to defende
Thy walkynge inordinately,
*you certainly will
be damned in the
Mat. vii.
end.*
Thou shalt be certen, in the ende,
To be damned eternally. 1172
For in the worlde ther can not be
More greate abhominacion,
To thy Lorde God, then is in the,
Forsakeyng thy vocation. 1176

¶ The Gentlemans Lesson.

- You that are born
gentlemen,*
Thou that arte borne to lande and rent,
And arte cleped a gentleman,
Geue eare to me, for myne intent
Is to do the good if I can. 1180

Thou arte a man that God hath set
To rule the route in thy countrey ;
Wherefore thou hadste nede forto get
Good knowledge rather then money.

are set to rule
your country-
men.
You must get
knowledge,
1184 *Ecc[lesiastes] i[.ii.]*
for ignorance can
be no excuse.
Rom. [xiv.]
Mat. iv.

For ignoraunce shall not excuse,
When all men shall geue a rekenyng ;
And the iudge wyll money refuse,
And iudge after eche mans doying.

1188

Fyrst I aduertise the therfore,
And require the in Christes name,
That of knowledge thou get the store,
And frame thy lyueyng to the same.

Get knowledge,
and live up to it.
1192

Get the knowledge, I saye, and then
Thou shalt perceyue thyne owne degre
To be such that, emong all men,
Thou haste moste nede learned to be.

1196

Thou shalt perceyue *thou* haste no tyme
To spare, and spende in bankettyng,
For though thou watch tyll it be pryme,
Thou shalt haue inough to doying.

You will see you
have no time to
spare in feasting.

1200

Thou shalt not fynde any leasure,
To dice, to carde, or to reuell,
If thou do once take a pleasure,
In vseying thyne owne callyng well.

You will have no
leisure for
gambling.

1204

For parkes of dere *thou* shalt not care
Neither for costuouse buildyng,
For apparell, or for fyne fare,
Or any other worldly thinge.

hunting, costly
building, or
apparel.

1208

Thy mynd shal be styll rauished
With the desyre to walke vpryghte,
And to se al vice punished,
So much as shal ly in thy myght.

You must strive
to walk upright ;

1212

Thou shalt delite for to defende
The pore man that is innocent,
And cause the wicked to amend,
And the oppressour to repent.

and delight in
defending the
poor,

1216

- and in doing
your duty. Thou shalt haue delite in nothyng
Sauinge in doynge thy duty ;
Which is, vnder God and thy kyng,
To rule them that thou doest dwel by. 1220
- You are not
allowed to do as
[Ro]m. 14.
you like with
your own. Thou shalt not think *that* thou maist take
Thy rente to spend it at thy wyll,
As one that should no recknyng make
For ought that he doth well or yl. 1224
- [Lu]ke .xiii. But thou shalt fynd *that* thou art bound,
And shalt answer much more strayghtly,
Then the pore men that tyl the ground,
If thou regard not thy duty. 1228
- You may not
raise your rents
at will— Thou shalt not fynd that thou maiest reise
Thy rent, or leauy a great fine
More then hath bene vsed alwayes ;
For that only is called thyne. 1232
- you must allow
your tenants to
live. For as thou doest hold of thy kyng,
So doth thy tenauzt holde of the,
And is allowed a lyueinge
As wel as thou, in his degre. 1236
- If thou, therefore, wouldest not thi king
Should take of the more then his due,
Why wilt thou abate the liuyng
Of thy tenaunt and cause him rue ? 1240
- Knowledge will
tell you to do as
you would be
done by,
Mat. vi For knowledge wyl tel the, that thou
Must do as thou wouldest be done by ;
And ryght so wyl she tel the how
Thou maiste discharge al thy duty. 1244
- and to be content
with your
inheritance. She wyl teach the to be contente
Wyth that thou haste by herytage ;
And eke to lyue after thy rente,
And not to fal into outrage. 1248
- If you can afford
to spend 40l., you
may not live up
to 60l. If thou maye despend xl. pound,
Thou maiste not lyue after three score ;
Neyther maist thou enclose thy ground,
That thou mayst make it yerely more. 1252

For knowledge wil teach the to seke
 Other mens wealth more then thine owne,
 And rather to fede on a leke
 Then one house should be ouerthrown.

1256

You must learn
 that you are a
 father to your
 country,

Thou shalt by her learne that *thou* art
 A father ouer thy country,
 And that thou oughtest to play the parte
 Of a father both nyght and day.

1260

Psalm 8.
 and understand
 that you must aid
 the needy.

Thou shalt by knowledg vnderstand
 That thou must succour the needy,
 And in theyr cause such men wythstande
 As shew themselues ouer gredy.

1264

In short,
 knowledge will
 teach you your
 duty—

In fine, knowledge that is godly
 Wyll teach the al that thou shalt do
 Bilyongyng to thyne owne duty,
 And other mens duty also.

1268

Gette the knowledg, I saye, therefore,
 That thou mayste be worthy thy name ;
 For wythout hir thou maiste nomore
 Be called a ge[n]tleman for shame.

1272

without it you
 can't be called
 a gentleman,

For wythout knowledg thou shalt be
 Of all other moste out of frame ;
 Bicause there is nothyng in the,
 That may thy luste chastice or tame.

1276

because you have
 nothing within
 you to subdue
 your passions.

Wythout knowledg *thou* wylt folowe
 Thy fleshe and fleshly appetyte,
 And in the luste therof wallowe,
 Settyng therin thy whole delyte.

1280

Without
 knowledge you
 will oppress all
 men who are in
 your power,

Wythout knowledge *thou* wylt oppresse
 All men that shalbe in thy powre ;
 And when they shalbe in distres,
 Thou wylt them cruelly deuoure.

1284

Wythout knowledg thou wilt aray
 Both the and thyne paste thy degree,
 And eke mayntayne outragious playe,
 Tyl thou haue spent both lande and fee.

1288

and dress and
 gamble till you
 have spent all.

- If you have no knowledge you will be worse than a slave. To make an ende ; vnlesse thou haue Knowledg remaynyng in thy breste, Thou shalt be worse then a vile slaue That doth all honestie deteste. 1292
- Study always to know your duty, and to fear God. Get the knowledg, therfore, I saye And eke the feare of God aboue ; And let thy study be alwaye To knowe what thyng doth the bihoue. 1296
- [P]salm .33 But fyrste, bifore all other thynges, Set the Lords feare bifore thy face, To guyde the in all thy doynges, That thou delyte not in trespace. 1300
- He who delights in sin will never get knowledge, For he that doth delyte in synne Shall neuer gouerne hys lyfe wel, Nor any godly knowledge wyne ; For wisdoume wyl not with him dwel. 1304
- so seek her till you find her. *Sapie [vi]* Then seke for knowledg busilie, And leaue not off tyll she be founde ; And when thou hast her perfectelie To the Lordes feare let her be bounde. 1308
- And let them two beare all the swea In thy doinges, earelye and late¹ ;
- Let the fear of God and knowledge Let them agre and ende their plea, Before thou do appoint the state. 1312
- By theyr aduise suruei thy lande,
- guide you in all things, And kepe thy courtes both farre & nere, And se they do fast by the stande, In thine housekeping and thy chere. 1316
- and have them ever in mind. Haue them present before thine eies, In al thy dedes what so they be ; In cessions, and eke on assise, Let them not be absent from the. 1320
- Let them rule your family, Let them rule all thy familie, And eke enstruct thy childrene yonge ; That they may thyne office supply When *with* hys darte death hath the stong. 1324

¹ Orig. lare.

And last of all, leaue them to guyde Thy chyldren and theyr families ; That thy house and floke may abyde, And rule the route in godly wise.	1328	and your children's children.
No more to the I haue to saye But that thou kepe Gods feare in syght And make it the guyde of thy waye As well by bryght daye as by nyght.	1332	
So doying I dare the assure That in the ende thou shalt obteyne The blisse that shall euer endure, Wyth Christe our Maister for to rayne.	1336	So doying you shall obtain the bliss of heaven.

¶ The Maiestrates Lesson.

W hoso thou be that God doeth call, To beare the swerd of punishment, Mark wel my words and take them all Accordyngly as they be ment.	1340	You who are called magis- trates
When thou arte in autoritie, And haste the bridle rayne in hande ; Then be well ware that tirannie Do not get the wythin hir bande.	1344	and have the bridle-rein in hand,
Loke not vpon thy swerd alway, But loke sometyme on thy ballaunce, And se that neither do decay In the tyme of thy gouernaunce.	1348	look at the balance as well as at the sword,
For to punyshe wyth equitie, Is, and aye shalbe, bisemeyng ; Whereas to shewe extremiti, Is founde rather a bloude suckeyng.	1352	and punish with equity.
If any man be accusede Se thou hear him indifferently, And let him not be punished, Tyl thou knowe his cause thorowly.	1356	Be impartial in your judgment.

- If he haue wrought against *the* lawes,
 So that iustice woulde haue him dye,
 Then in thy ballaunce laye his cause,
 And iudge him after equitie. 1360
- If a man err
 through ignor-
 ance or poverty, If he dyd it of ignoraunce,
 Of nede, or by compulsion,
 Or else by fortune, and by chaunce,
 Then must thou vse discretion. 1364
- consider what
 extreme need is, Consyder what extreme nede is,
 And howe force may the weake compell,
 And how fortune doth hit and misse,
 When the intent was to do well. 1368
- and that wit-
 nesses may lie. And though the euidence be plaine,
 And the accusars credible ;
 Yet call to mynde the elders twayne,
Dani [xiii.] That Daniell found reproueable. 1372
- ¶ And if thou fynde them false, or vayne,
 Forged to worcke theyr brother yll,
 Then let them suffer the same paine
 That he shoulde haue had by their wyll. 1376
- I might say
 much under this
 head, Much myght be sayde in this matter
 Out of the workes of writers olde,
 And, for to proue it the better,
 Many late stories might be tolde. 1380
- but I leave it to
 your study. But I leaue this to the study
 Of them that haue had exercise
 In iudgement, in whose memorie
 It is as styll before theyr eyes. 1384
- I thought mete to tuch it only,
 That thou myghtest haue occasion
 Your duty is To call to mynde the chief dutie
 Of thy state and vocation: 1388
- to weigh
 euidence, and
 examine accusers, Whych is to scanne the euidence,
 And eke to try the accusars all,
 Though they be men of good credence,
 Leste haply the iuste be made thral. 1392

More ouer it behoueth the, I[f] thou wylt walke in thy callyng, To se that all good statutes be Executed before al thynges.	1396	and to see the statutes enforced,
For to what ende do statutes serue, Or why should we hold parliamente, If men shall not suche lawes obserue As in that court we shal inuent ?	1400	
And what thynges shall a realme decay So sone, as when men do neglecte The wholsom lawes, as who should sai, They were in dede to none effecte.	1404	because neglect of statutes makes a realm decay,
For in that realme the mightie shal Worke after theyr fancie and wyl ; For there the pore may crie, and cal For helpe, and be oppressed styl.	1408	and brings oppression upon the poor.
Se thou therfore to thy dutie In this behalfe, both daie and night, And let none break such lawes freli, But let them know <i>that</i> lawes haue might.	1412	
Let them al know, I say, that thou Art set to minister iustice, And that thou madest therto a vowe At the takeing of thine office.	1416	Let men know you are set to administer justice.
Wincke not at thynges <i>that</i> be to plaine, Lest godly knowledge fle the fro, And thou flyt into endeles payne, At such time as thou must hence go.	1420	Do not wink at things which are too plain.
For if thou wilt not minister Iustice to them that do oppresse, What are the people the better For the when they be in distresse ?	1424	If you will not administer justice,
The heauenly housband man, therfore, Who planted the, vice to suppressse, Shall drye thy rote for euermore, And geue the vp to wyckednes.	1428	

Jhon. xv
beware of the
vengeance of
God;

Beware of thys vengeaunce betyme,
Lest it come on the sodaynly,
When *thou* wouldest faine repent thy cryme,
But shalt despeire of Goddes mercy. 1432

your conscience
will make you
despair.

For what thing causeth men despeire
Of Gods mercy at their last ende,
But their conscience, that saieth thei were
Told of their fault, & woulde not mende? 1436

I have more to
say yet.

If thou therefore doest se this thyng,
And wylt wincke at it willingly,
I say that, when death shal the styng,
Thou shalt despeire of Gods mercye. 1440

Yet haue I more to say to the
Concernyng thy vocation,
Which, if it grow styl, must nedes be
Double abhominacion. 1444

See that you
allow no offices
to be sold.

For he that bieth must nedes sel :
Thou knowest alreadye what I meane ;
I nede not wyth playne wordes to tel,
If sinne haue not blinded the cleane. 1448

God will not
permit His flock
to be deuoured
of wolves.

Se vnto it, I the aduise,
And let not offices be solde ;
For God wyll punyshe in straitte wyse
Such as wyth him wyl be so bolde. 1452

Remember
Pharaoh
Exo. viii.

He wyl not aye suffer his flocke
Of wolves to be so deuoured,
Neither shall they *that* would hym mocke,
Escape his handes vnpunyshe. 1456

[*Dan.*] *iiii.*
and Nebuchad-
nezzar,

His arme is as stronge as it was
When he plaged Kyng Pharao
In Egipt, and can bring to passe
Al that he listeth now also. 1460

He spent not al his power vpon
The Kyng Nabuchodanozer ;
He shal neuer be found such one,
That he should not haue mighte in store. 1464

- Take hede, take hede, I saye therfore,
 That thou fal not into his hand ;
 For if thou do, thou art forlore,
 Thou canst not be able to stand. 1468
- Yet one thyng more I must the tell,
 Which in no wyse thou mayst forget,
 If thou wylt professe Gods Gospel,
 And thyne affiaunce therin set : 1472
- Thou must not couet imperye,
 Nor seke to rule straunge nacions ;
 For it is charge inough, perdie,
 To aunswere for thyne owne commons. 1476
- Let thy study, therefore I saye,
 Be to rule thyne owne subiectes wel,
 And not to maynetayne warres alwaye,
 And make thy contrey lyke an hell. 1480
- Let it suffice the, to defende
 Thy limites from inuasion ;
 And therein se thou do intende
 Thine owne peoples saluation. 1484
- For, marke this : If thou do invade,
 And get by force commodite,
 The same shal certenly be made
 A scorge to thy posteritye. 1488
- This haue I sayde, to call the backe
 From the Philistines stacion ;
 Trustynge thou wylte my counsell take,
 And walke in thy vocation. 1492

and take heed
 that you fall not
 [*Hebru]* *sa.*
 into His hand.

If you profess
 the Gospel,

you must not
 seek power.

Study to rule
 your own
 subjects well.

Defend your own
 country from
 invasion,

and do not invade
 other lands.

[*t*] *Reg. xiii.*

The Womans Lesson.

- W**hoso thou be of woman kinde,
 That lokest for saluation,
 Se *thou* haue euer in thy mynde,
 To walke in thy vocation. 1496

All women should
 walk in their
 vocation.

If you have no husband, improve your manners.	If thy state be virginity, And hast none housband for to please, Then se thou do thyselfe apply	
i. <i>Cor.</i> vii.	In Christen maners to encrease.	1500
If you have a mistress, serve her readily.	If thou be vnder a mestres, Se thou learne hir good qualities, And serue hyr wyth al redines, Haueyng Goddes feare before thine eies.	1504
Avoid idle talk and nice looks.	If thou se hir wanton and wilde, Then se thou cal vpon God styl, That he wyl kepe the vndefilde, And kepe from the al maners yl. Auoyde idle and wanton talke, Auoyde nyce lokes and daliaunce; And when thou doest in the stretes walk, Se thou shewe no lyght countenaunce.	1508
Dress according to your condition.	Let thyne apparayle be honest; Be not decked past thy degre; Neither let thou thyne hede be dreste	1512
i. <i>Timo.</i> ii.	Otherwyse then besemeth the.	1516
Neither dye your hair,	Let thyne haare beare the same coloure That nature gaue it to endure; Laye it not out as doeth an where, That would mens fantacies allure.	1520
nor paint your face,	Paynte not thy face in any wise, But make thy maners for to shyne, And thou shalt please all such mens eies, As do to godlines enclyne.	1524
but be modest, learn your duties,	Be thou modeste, sober, and wise, And learne the poyntes of houswyfry; And men shall haue the in such price That thou shalt not nede a dowry.	1528
and try to please God.	Studye to please the Lorde aboue, Walkyng in thy callyng vpryght, And God wil some good mans hert moue To set on the his whole delite.	1532

Nowe when thou arte become a wyfe,
 And hast an housbande to thy mynde,
 Se thou prouoke him not to stryfe,
 Lest haply he do proue vnkynde.

If you have a
 husband,

1536 [*i C*] *or .xi.*

Acknowledge that he is thyne heade,
 And hath of the the gouernaunce ;
 And that thou must of him be led,
 Accordyng to Goddes ordinaunce.

let him guide
 you.

1540

Do al thy busines quietly,
 And delyte not idle to stand ;
 But do thy selfe euer applye,
 To haue some honest worcke in hand.

Be industrious,

1544

And in no case thou maist suffer
 Thy seruantes or children to play ;
 For ther is nought that may soner
 Make them desire to renne awaye.

and keep your
 children and
 servants from
 idleness.

1548

Se thou kepe them styl occupyed
 From morne tyl it be nyght agayne,
 And if thou se they growe in pryde,
 Then laye hand on the brydle rayne.

1552

But be thou not to them bytter,
 Wyth wordes lackyng discrecion,
 For thine housband it is fitter
 To geue them due correction.

But do not be
 too severe.

1556

But if thou be of such degre,
 That it is not for the semely
 Emonge thy maydens for to be,
 Yet do thy selfe styl occupye ;

If you are above
 mixing with your
 servants,

1560

Do thy selfe occupy, I say,
 In readinge, or hearyng some thyng,
 Or talkyng of the godly way,
 Wherein is great edifyng.

spend your time
 in reading.

1564

Se thy children well nurtered,
 Se them brought vp in the Lordes feare,
 And if their meaners be wycked,
 In no case do thou wyth them beare.

See that your
 children are well
 brought up.

1568

If your husband does wrong, admonish him mildly.	And if thine housbande do outrage	
	In any thinge, what so it be, Admonish him of hys last age, Wyth wordes mylde as becommeth the.	1572
	And if he do refuse to heare Thy gentle admonicion, Yet se if thou can cause him feare Goddess terrible puniission.	1576
Allure him by your godly living.	Do what thou canst, him to allure To seke God by godly liueing, And certainly thou shalt be sure Of life that is euerlastinge.	1580
For though the first woman fell,	For though the first woman did fall, And was the chiefe occasion That sinne hath pearced through vs all, Yet shalt thou haue saluation.	1584
you shall be saved if you are obedient,	Thou shalt be salfe, I say, if thou Kepe thy selfe in obedience To thine housband, as thou didest vow, And shewe to him due reuerence.	1588
and do all in faith.	But in fayth must all this be done, Or else it doeth nothyngue auayle ; For without fayeth nought can be wone, Take thou neuer so greate trauayle.	1592
	Thou must beleue, and hope that he, That bade the be obedyent, Wyll be ryght well pleased wyth the, Because thou holdest the content.	1596
But if your husband is godly,	Nowe, if thyne housbande be godly, And haue knowleged better then thou,	
learn of him,	Then learne of him al thy dutie, And to his doctryne se thou bowe.	1600
[i T]mo. v. and do all that he approves.	Se thou talke wyth him secretly Of su[c]h thinges as do the behoue ; And se thou obserue thorowlye	
[i T]mo. v.	Al such thinges as he shal aproue.	1604

Seke to please him in thine araye,
 And let not newe trickes delyte the ;
 For that becometh the alway,
 That with his minde doth best agre. 1608

Delite not in vaine tatyllars,
 That do vse false rumoures to sowe ;
 For such as be great babbelars
 Wyll in no case their dutie know. 1612

Delight not in
 tattlers—

Their commynge is alwaye to tell
 Some false lye by some honeste man ;
 They are worsse then the deuell of hell,
 If a man would them throughly scanne. 1616

they are worse
 than the devil ;

They wyll fynd faute at thyne araye,
 And say it is for the to base,
 And haply ere they go awaye,
 They wyl teach the to paynt thy face. 1620

Yea, if al other talke do fayle
 Before the idle tyme be spent,
 They wyl teach the how to assayle
 Thyne housband with wordes vehemente ; 1624

they will teach
 you to scold your
 husband,

Thow muste swere by Goddes passion,
 That long before thou sawest his heade,
 Thou hadest ech gallaunt fassion,
 And wilt agayne when he is deade. 1628

and tell him of
 your tricks
 before you knew
 him.

Thou must tell him, that he may heare,
 Wyth a lowd voyce, & eke wordes plaine,
 That *thou* wilt sometyne make good chere
 With ryght good felows one or twaine. 1632

I am ashamed for to wryte
 The talke that these gossepes do vse ;
 Wherefore, if thou wylt walke vpryght,
 Do theyr companye quite refuse. 1636

I am ashamed of
 these gossips,

For they are the deuelles mynysters,
 Sent to destroy al honestye,
 In such as wyl be their hearars,
 And to theyr wycked reade applye. 1640

for they are the
 devil's ministers.

i. Pet. iii.
But do you learn
of Sara,

But thou that arte Sarais daughter,
And lokest for saluation,
Se thou learne thy doctryne at hir,
And walke in thy vocation.

1644

Gene. xvi.
who always
obeyed her
husband.

She was alway obedyent
To hir housband, and cald hym lorde,
As the boke of Godes testament
Doeth in most open wyse record.

1648

Follow her, and
you will be safe
in the end.

Folowe hir, and thou shalt be sure
To haue, as she had in the ende,
The lyfe that shall euer endure :
Unto the whiche the Lorde the send.

1652

Amen.

Imprynted at

London bi Robert Crowley
dwellinge in Elie rentes
in Holburn. The yere
of our Lord .M.

D. xlix. the

laste daye of December.

 Autore eodem Roberto Croleo.

¶ Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum solum.

A Pleasure

And Payne, Heauen and Hell:
Remembre these foure,
and all shall be
well.

¶ Compyled by Roberte Crow-
ley, Anno Domini, M.D.LX.

¶ Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum
solum.

¶ O ye that be my fathers blessed ones
come and posses the kyngdome that
was prepared for you befor the
beginning of the worlde.

¶ For ye curssed sorte into the euerla-
sting fyre that was prepared for
the Deuill and his Angelles.

Math, xxv.

11

¶ To the ryght worshypful Lady
 Dame Elizabeth Fane, wyfe to the
 ryght worshypfull Syr Rafe
 Fane Knyghte: Roberte
 Crowley Wyshethe
 the Lyfe euer-
 lastyng

[Page 3]

After I had compiled thys litle treatise (ryght ver-
 tuouse Lady) I thought it my duty to dedicate
 the same vnto youre Ladishyppes name, as to a ryght
 worthy Patrones of al such as laboure in the Lords
 harueste. Not for that I thyncke I haue herein done
 any thyng worthy so liberall a Patrones, but for the
 worthynes of the matter, whych is a parte of the holy
 gospel of Iesu Christ wrytten by the holy Euangelyste
 Mathewe, and is most necessary to be beaten into the
 heades of all men at thys daye, to dryue them (if it be
 possible) from the gredy rakeyng togyther of the trea-
 sures of this vayne worlde. I do not doubt, but if God
 haue not geuen men vp to their owne herts lust, they
 wyll nowe at the laste endenoure to lyue the gospell
 which they haue of longe tyme talked. In dede it was
 ne*cessarie that God should styr vp some to plage such
 emonge his people as had offended euen as he dyd often
 tymes styr vp the heathen to plage hys people of
 Israell; but yet it is not necessarye that the same
 should continue in oppressing the offenders and inno-

I thought it my
 duty to dedicate
 this treatise to
 you.

If men are not
 given up to their
 own hearts' lust,
 they will begin to
 live the gospel
 which they have
 [Page 4]
 talked.

God's anger will
fall on the land if
oppression and
covetousness do
not cease.

May the Lord so
work in the
hearts of the rich,
that the venge-
ance fall not in
our days.

[Page 5]

cent together. For so shal they also deserue the Lordis wrath, & in the ende be plaged by some other that God shal styr vp to reuenge the iniurye done to the innocent sorte. Moued therefore wyth the desyre to se the wealth of my contrey by the pacifyng of Gods ire, which (no doubt) wyl fal vpon this realme very shortly, if oppression and gredye couetise cease not, I haue, so playnely as I coulde, set forth in thys litle boke the terrible iudgment of God (which no doubt of it is at hande), that if there remayne any feare of God in mens hertis, it may cause them to staye at the least waye, and not to procede any farder in *the* inuentying of newe wayes to oppresse the pore of thys realme, whoes oppression doeth alreedy crye vnto the Lorde for vengeance. The Lorde work in the hertis of the rych, that this vengeaunce fall not on thys realme in oure dayes, for doubtles it wyl be gret when it cometh. And if

the oppression cease not, the vengeance can not
ta*rye longe. For the Lorde hath promised
to reuenge his people in haste. This
Lord preserue your good Ladiship
to hys good pleasure in thys
lyfe and geue you blysse in
the lyfe to come.
So be it.

Your Ladyships at commaundement, Robert
Crowley.

[Page 6, blank]

When Christ shall come to iudge vs all,¹
 And geue eche one as he hath wrought,
 Hys Fathers frendis then wyll he call,
 To enioye that whych they haue sought,
 By beleueng that they were bought
 Wyth his bloude shedde vpon a tree,
 As by theyre workis all men maye see.

[Page 7]
 When Christ
Mat. xvi.
 comes to judg-
 ment He will call
 4 His friends to
 enjoy what they
 haue been seek-
 ing.

7 *Mat. vii.*

"Come! come!" shall he saye to these men,
 "Come, and possesse for euermore
 That kyngdome, whych my Father, when
 No worlde was made, layed vp in store
 For you, whome he dyd knowe before
 To be in maners lyke to me
 That am his Sonne, and aye haue be !

He will bid them
 come and possess
Mat. xxv.
 the kingdome pre-
 pared for them,

11

[Page 8]
 14 *Rom. viii.*

"Come!" shall he saye, "for aye, when I
 Stode nede of meate, ye gaue me fode;
 So dyd you drynke when I was drye,
 Reioyceng when you dyd me good.
 No fende, therefore, shall chaynge your mode;
 For you shall alwayes be wyth me,
 And shall my Fathers godheade se.

because when He
 was hungry they
 fed Him.

Mat. xxv.

18

They shall re-
 main ever with
 Him, and see
 God.
 21 *i. Cor. xiii.*

"And at all tymes, when I haue bene
 Of nedefull lodgeynge desolate,
 You haue bene gladde to take me in;
 Whether it were yarly or late,
 You dyd me neuer chyde nor rate;
 But gaue me wordis curteyse and kynde,
 Procedynge from a faythfull mynde.

Mat. xxv.

When He was
 desolate, they
 25 [Page 9]
 took Him in,

and treated Him
 courteously.
 28

¹ Two lines of the original are put into one.

- ¶ "So, when I was naked and bare,
 Hauynge no clothes my fleshe to hyde,
 From your owne backs then dyd you spare,
 And gaue me clothes for backe and syde,
 So that I myght the colde abyde.
 But if you lackt sufficient,
 Then dyd you my greate lacke lament. 32
- When He was
 naked, they
Mat. xxv.
 clothed Him.
- ¶ Infyne, when I was weake and sycke,
 And had no conforte aboute me,
 To come to me you dyd not stycke,
 And succour my necessitie. 39
 And when it chaunced me to be
 In prisone, and could not get oute,
 To raunsome me you went aboute." 42
- When He was
 sick and in
 [Page 10]
 prison, they com-
 forted Him,
 and visited Him,
Mat. xxv.
 and ransomed
 Him.
- ¶ Then shall the iuste answer agayne
 And saye, "O Lorde, when sawe we the
 In prisone, or in other payne
 Through extreme nede and pouertie ? 46
 Arte not thou Lorde of lande and see ?
 What ? Lorde, we knowe that sea and lande
 Haue euermore bene in thyne hande ; 49
- Is He not Lord of
 land and sea ?
- [Page 11]
- ¶ "We know that thou gaueste all thyng
 To all estates, boeth hygh and lowe.
 There is no myghty lorde nor kynge,
 But he is in thyne hande we knowe. 53
 In vayne, Lorde, we might plante and sowe,
 If thou gaue vs not frute and grayne,
 We coulde haue nought lyfe to sustayne." 56
1. *Cor. iiii.*
 He gives all
 things to all men,
 and every man is
 in His hand.
- ¶ Then shall Christe saye, "All this is true ;
 I gaue you lyfe, and dyd you fede
 Wyth graynes and fruitis, boeth olde and newe,
 And gaue you all thyngis at your nede. 60
 In all your wayes I was your speede,
 And gaue you that wherefore ye sought,
 Wych wythout me had come to nought. 63
- He owne He gave
 us life and fed us,
- [Page 12]
 and has been
 with us in all our
 ways.
John .xv.

☞ "Yet all that I haue sayde before

Is true also ; for when you gaue
Ought to such as were sycke or sore,
Whome nede constray[ned] forto craue,
Then, I confesse my selfe to haue
Receyued all that at your hande,
Whereof they dyd in greate nede stande."

¶ Then shall the iuste wyth ioye enter
Into the ioyes that shall not ende ;
By cause theyr hertes were aye tender
To geue such thyngis as God dyd sende,
Mankynde from peryle to defende.
Thus shall they lyue in ioye and blysse
In Paradice, where no payne is.

But to the wycked Christ shall saye,
"Auoyde frome me, ye wycked sorte ;
For in my nede you sayde me naye
Wyth spytefull wordis of disconforte.
Yet my preachars dyd you exhorte
Me in my membres to refreshe,
Knoweynge that all are but one fleshe."

☞ Then shall these men, wyth faynte herte, saye
"Lorde when dyd we see the in nede ?
Thou haste bene Lorde and Kynge alwaye ;
No wyght was whome thou dydest not fede :
All this we learned in oure Creede ;
For thou arte Iesus, that Gods Sonne
That hath create boeth sonne and mone."

☞ "Oh," shall Christe saye to them agayne,
"Ye deafe dorepostis, coulde ye not heare ?
Thynke you the heade bydeth no payne,
When the members make heauye chere ?
In you nought but flesh doeth appere.
For if my spirite in you had ben,
Me in myne you must nedis haue sene.

But when we
gave anything to
the sick we gave
it to Him.

67

Mat. xxv.

70

The just will
enter into ever-
lasting joys,

74

[Page 18]
because their
hearts were
tender.

Mat. v.

They will live in
Paradise.

77

To the wicked
He will say,
"Depart ! for in
my need ye
Mat. xxv.
refused me."

81

1. *Corih. x*

84

[Page 14]
Mat. xxv.
They will answer,
"Lord, when did
we see thee in
need ?

88

Thou art Iesus,
who created all
things."

91

He will answer,
"You deaf door-
posts,

1. *Cohr. xii.*

95

[Page 15]
if my spirit had
been in you, you
must have seen
the poor,

98

- ¶ "The pore, the pore, and indigent
Came vnto you ofte tymes ye knowe,
And you sawe them wepe and lament,
Yet would ye not on them bestowe
The leaste frute that to you dyd growe.
No, no, you were redy to take
That other gaue them for my sake. 102
- Ezech. 33.*
There was no
pity in your
hearts.
[Page 16]
How did you
use your lands
and goods?
"Your hertis were harder then the flynt—
In them no pitie coulede be founde.
Your greedy gutte coulede neuer stynt,
Tyll all the good and fruitfull grounde¹
Were hedged in whythin your mownde.
You wycked sorte, howe vsed ye
The londis and goodis ye had of me? 105
- ¶ "You made your boaste all was your owne,
To spare or spende, at your owne wyll;
And when any pore men were knowne
That were so bolde to calle it yll,
My landis and goodis in waste to spyll,
You shet them vp in prisone strong,
Tormentynge them euer emonge. 109
- [Page 17]
Because a man
told you your
duty, you said he
wished to have
all.
"False libertynes you dyd them call,
Because they tolde you your duitie.
You sayde the loselles woulde haue all
That you had gotten paynfully,
And kept longe tyme moste carefully;
But ye belye them, I know well,
And slaunder this my true Gospell. 116
- But mine only
wish for their
own,
as I shall tell
you.
Luke .xvi.
[Sign. with Dr
Bliss MS. note,
"P. B. 1. 34
[Page 18]
1 Q 8"]
¶ "Emonge all myne there is not one
That would haue ought more then his owne,
As I shall tell you playne anone;
For to me all theyr hertis be knowne.
They reaped nought that you had sowne,
But wyllde you to let them haue
That I gaue you mankynde to saue. 119
- : Orig. nownde. 123

- “Not one so blynde emonge you all,
But he knoweth I made all of nought,
Appoyntyng all thyngis naturall,
To serue mankynde, whome I haue wrought 137
Lyke to my selfe in loueyng thought ;
Wyllynge that eche should at his nede,
Haue breade and broth, harbour and wede. 140
- ☞ “But syth it was expedient
That emonge all there should be some
Always sycke, sore, and impotent,
I indued you wyth such wysedome 144
As dyd honest stuardis become,
Committynge¹ whole into your hande
The riches, boeth of sea and lande. 147
- ☞ “My purpose was that you should haue
Alwayne all nedefull thynges in store,
To succour such as nedis must craue
Of you thyngis nedefull euermore. 151
I made you rych to fede the pore ;
But you, lyke seruauantis prodigall,
Haue in excesse consumed all. 154 *Mat. 24.*
- ☞ “But when I found you negligent
In fedyng of my family,
Then my prophetes to you I sent,
Commaundyng that you should yerely 158
Brynge all your tythes diligently
Into my barne, that there myght be
Meate in myne house for pouertie. 161
- “But you gaue to theyr wordis no hede ;
You helde all faste, and woulde nought brynge
Into my barne the pore to fede,
But spent all at your owne lykyng 165
In wantones and banketyng,
And in rayment past your degree,
As men that had no mynde of me. 168

You know I
made all things,

Psal. viii.

Genesis. i.

that the needs of
all might be
supplied,

[Page 19]

Mat. 24.

and that you
might have a
store to succour
the needy.

When I found
you negligent

[Page 20]

I sent my pro-
phets to you,

Malc. iii.

but you heeded
them not,

and spent all
in wantonness,
Gene. 32.
and raiment.

¹ Cammittynge in original.

- [Page 21] ¶ "Yea, some of you were not content
To holde fast that ye should haue brought
Into my barne, there to be spent ;
John .x. But gredyly ye begde and bought, 172
You begged That my true seruantis, as they ought,
and bought that Dyd at my true prophetis byddynges,
which was mine, Into my barne faythfully brynge. 175
- and, when once ¶ "And when you had once gotten in,
in my fold, Into my folde, emonge my shepe,
Then you thought it to be no synne
Styll in your kennells forto slepe, 179
- set others to keep ¶ Settyng such ones my flocke to kepe,
my flock. As were more lyke to eate the lambe,
[Page 22] Then to defende his feble dame. 182
John .x.
- Ezech. 34.* ¶ "Ye robde, ye spoylde, ye bought, ye solde
You spoiled my My flocke and me ; in euery place
flock and me. Ye made my bloude vylar then golde :
And yet ye thought it no tre[s]passe. 186
O wycked sorte, voyde of all grace,
Auoyde from me downe into hell,
Wyth Lucifer : there shall ye dwell. 189
- You had the ¶ "Ye had the tythes of mens encrease,
tithes, That shoulde haue fedde my flocke and me ;
Ezech. 34. But you made your selves well at ease,
[Page 23] And toke no thought for pouertie. 193
It dyd not greue you forto se
My flocke and me suffer greate nede
For lacke of meate, harbour and wede. 196
- and were not ¶ "No hell can be a worthy payne
sorry to see my For your offence, it is so greate ;
flock and me For you haue robbed me, and slayne
have need. My flocke for lacke of nedefull meate. 200
The woule, the lambe, the malt, and wheate,
You carried You dyd by force cary awaye,
all away. And noman durst once saye you naye. 203

- ¶ "Howe can you loke to haue mercie
 At myne hande? whome ye would not feede [Page 24]
 Wyth that was myne, euen of dutie What mercy can
 To succoure me and myne at nede? 207 you expect?
- Syth you myght in the scripture rede,
 That suche men shall no mercie haue
 As kepe theyr owne when nede doethe craue. 210 *Iacob. ii.*
- "Unto the hungry parte thy breade,
 And when thou shalt the naked se, *Esai. [i]viii*
 Put clothes on him; this myght you reade
 In my prophetis that preached me. 214 You might have
 And in Iohns Pistle these wordis be:— seen in the
 'Howe can that man haue Charitie, Scriptures
 That beyng riche sheweth no pitie?' 217 [Page 25]
- "Also, the man that stoppeth his eare
 At the crye of such as be pore,
 Shall crye, and no man shall him heare,
 Nor at his nede shewe him succoure: 221
 Ryght so he that doeth endeuoure
 To be made rych by oppressynge,
 Shall leaue him selfe (at the last) no thyng. 224 *Prou. xxi.*
 "For he shall geue the ryche alwaye that he who would
 More then he can scrape frome the pore, not hear the poor
 So that in tyme he shall decaye,
 And haue no nedefull thyng in store. 228
 This might you reade, and ten tymes more
 In the Bible, that holy boke,
 If you had had tyme forto loke. 231 *Prou. xxi.*
- "But such scriptures you coulde not broke
 As bade you geue ought to the pore;
 You wysht then out of the boke,
 But you were suer to haue in store
 Plentie of scripturs, euermore 235 But you wished
 To proue that you myght aye be bolde such things out of
 Wyth your owne to do what you woulde. 238 the Bible.

- You thought
you might em-
ploy your goods
in any way ;
[Page 27]
- Mat. vii.* " You thought you myght your goodis employ
To priuate gayne in euery thyng.
You thought it no faute to anoye
Such men as were nygh you dwellynge, 242
Were it by purchaise or byldynge ;
Neither to get into your hande,
Your neyghbours house his goodis and lande. 245
" All was your owne that you myght bye,
Or for a long tyme take by lease ;
And then woulde you take rent yerely,
Luke iii. Much more then was the tenantis ease : 249
It was no faute your rentis to rease
From twentie markis to fourtie powndis,
Were it in tenementis or growndis. 252
" What though the pore dyd lye and dye
For lacke of harbour, in that place
Where you had gotten wyckedly
By lease, or else by playne purchase, 256
All houseynge that shoulde, in that case,
Haue ben a safegard ¹ and defence
Agaynst the stormy violence ? 259
" Yea, what if the pore famyshed
For lacke of fode vpon that grownde,
Math. x. The rentes whereof you haue reysed,
Or hedged it wythin your mownde ? 263
There myght therwyth no faute be founde,
[Page 29] No, though ye bought vp all the grayne
To sell it at your pryce agayne. 266
" You thought that I woulde not requyre
the bloude of all suche at your hande ;
But be you sure, eternall fyre
Is redy for eche hell fyrebrande, 270
Boeth for the housynge and the lande
Iacob. ii. That you haue taken from the pore
Ye shall in hell dwell euermore ! 273

¹ Original, slafegard.

- "Yea, that same lande that ye dyd take
From the plowemen that laboured sore,
Causeynge them wycked shyftis to make,
Shall nowe ly vpon you full sore ;
You shal be damned for euermore :
The bloude of them that dyd amisse,
Through your defeaute is cause of this.
"The fathers, whose children dyd growe
In idlenes to a full age,
Woulde fayne be excused by you
That were the cause that they dyd rage ;
You toke from them theyr heritage,
Leaueyng them nought wheron to worcke :
Which lacke dyd make them learne to lurke.
"The sones also, that wycked were,
And wrought after theyr wycked wyll,
Would nowe ryght fayne be proued cleare,
Bycause your mysse hath made them ille ;
But they muste nedis be gyltie styll,
Because they woulde worke wyckedly,
Rather then lyue in miserie.
"And yet shall you answere for all,
Theyr bloude I wyl of you require,
Because you were cause of theyr falle,
That are become vesselles of ire ;
Boeth they and you shall haue your hyre
In hell emonge that wycked sorte,
That lyue in paynes wythout conforte.
☞ "Infyne, all such as dyd amysse
Through your default, what so they be,
Shall lyue in payne that endlesse is,
Because they would not credite me,
That am the trueth and verite.
I tolde them if they were opprest,
I woulde se all theyr wrongis redreste.
- The land taken
from the plow-
man shall be a
burden vpon you,
[Page 30]
and sink you to
hell.
*Mat. xxiii.*¹
[Page 31]
and made them
what they are ;
Ezech. iii.
ill deeds,
[Page 32]
and for all who
did amiss
through you.
Hebru. xii.
- 277
280
284
287
291
294
298
301
305
308
- ¹ xviii in original.

- Rebels go to hell. "The wycked sorte, that dyd rebell
 Agaynst you, when you dyd them wronge,
 Shall haue theyr parte wyth you in hell,
 Where you shall synge a dolefull songe : 312
- [Page 33] Worlde wythout ende you shall be stonge
Eccles. vii. Wythe the pricke of the conscience :
 A iuste rewarde for your offence. 315
- You who are
 guilty of simony
 will go to hell. ☞ "And you that woulde nedis take in hande
 To guyde my flocke, as shepheardis shoulde,
 Onlye to possesse rent and land,
 And as much riches as you coulde, 319
 To leade your lyfe euen as you woulde,
 Auoyde from me downe into hell,
Actu. viii. Wyth Simon Magus there to dwell. 322
- Your guilt
 surpasses belief. "If I should rehearse all at large
 That in your wycked lyfe is founde,
 [Page 34] And laye it strayght to your charge,
 No wyght there were in this world rownde 326
- Genes. 7.* But woulde wonder I had not drownde
 The hoole earth for your synne onlye,
 That woulde be called my cleargie. 329
- You made your
 way into the fold
 like wolves. "Firste (wyth Magus) ye made your waye,
 Lyke gredy woules,¹ into my folde.
 Your wycked wyll coulde fynde no staye
 So longe as ought was to be solde, 333
 Either for seruice or for golde :
 By you the patrons fell from me,
 And are become as ill as ye. 336
- [Page 35] ¶ "You dyd prouoke them fyrste to sell,
 And then they learned forto bye ;
 And made patrons
 as bad as your-
 selves. Thynkyng that they myght bye as well
 As the leadars of the clargie. 340
- And then they founde meanes, by and by,
 To catch, and kepe in theyr owne hande,
 The tenth increase by sea and lande. 343

¹ woules in original.

- ¶ "Theyr owne chyl dren they dyd present,
 Theyr seruauntis, and theyr wycked kynne,
 And put by such as I had sent
 To tell my people of theyr synne : 347
 And youe were gladde to take them in,
 Bycause you knewe that they dyd knowe
 That youe came in by the wyndowe. 350
- "Such as woulde haue entryd by me,
 That am the dore of my shepe folde,
 You sayde were not worthy to be
 Admitted into my householde : 354
 You thought by them you should be tolde
 Of your moste wycked Simonie,
 Your falsehead and your periurie. 357
- ¶ "You layde to theyr charge herecie,
 Sisme, and sedicion also ;
 But you dyd them falsely belye,
 Thynckynge therby to worke them wo,
 And doubtlesse ofte it chaunced so :
 For many of them you haue slayne
 Wyth most extreme and bitter payne. 364
- ¶ "Thus by your meanes my people haue
 Ben destitute of sheperdis good ;
 They haue ben ledde by such as draue
 Them from the fylde of gostly foode ; 368
 They beate them backe wyth heauye mode,
 And made them fede in morysh grownde,
 Where neuer shepe coulde be fedde sownde. 371
- ¶ "The kyngis and rulars of the earthe,
 For lacke of knowledge, went astraye ;
 And you stopped my seruantis breathe,
 That woulde haue taught them the ryght waye ; 375
 You thought your lyueynge woulde decaye,
 If kyngis and rulars of the lande
 Should theyr owne duitie vnderstande. 378

They presented
 their children
 and seruants.

John .x.
 [Page 36]

Such as would
 have entered the
 fold by me were
 deemed un-
 worthy.

Esaie. xxx

Act xxiiii

[Page 37]

Many of my
 seruants you haue
 slaine.

Kings haue
 strayed for lack
 [Page 38]
Apo. xxiiii
 of knowledge,

John. xi.

but you are to
blame for this,

¶ "For so longe as you kept them blynde,
Makyng them thyncke they had no charge,
You had all thyngis at your owne mynde,
And made your owne powr wondrous large. 382
You had an owre in echmans barge ;

[Page 39]

You bade the princis take no care,
For you would all the dayngar beare. 385

and, having my
flock in your
hands,

¶ "This haueynge my flocke in your hande,
You taught them not, but kept them blynde,
So that not one dyd vnderstande

Psal. xiii.

The lawes that I had lefte behynde. 389
The maister could not teach his hynde

How he should worke in his calling
Fearynge my wrath in euery thyng. 392

"The father coulde not teach his sonne
Howe, in his dayes, to walke vpryght ;

for the ignorance
of the people.

But gaue him leaue at large to runne
In wycked wayes, boeth daye and nyght, 396

[Page 40]

Makyng him wycked in my syght :
O wycked guidis, this was your dede,

Ezech. iii

But I shall requite you your mede ! 399

¶ "The matrons and mothers also,
Coule not teach theyr daughters my lawe,
But wyckedly they let them go
Whyther theyre wycked luste dyd drawe : 403

You saw it all,
and are guilty
of all the faults

Can you denie but this you sawe ?
And whye dyd you not set them ryght
To seke thynges pleasante in my syght ? 406

[Page 41]

Ier. xiiii
arising from
simony.

¶ "All maner men were oute of frame ;
None knewe his duitie thorowly ;
And you are founde in all the blame,
That haue entred by Simonie ; 410

Whych thyng you shall dearely bye,
For wyth Satan you shall be sure,
Worlde without ende, styll to endure. 413

☞ "For at your handis nowe I requyre

The bloude of all that perished
In placis were you toke the hyre,
And let my flocke be famisshed.

For aye ye shal be banyshed
The blysse that I bought for them all
That folowed me when I dyd call.

"Auoyde from me downe into hell,
All ye that haue wrought wyckedly :
wyth Lucifer there shall ye dwell,
And lyue in paynes eternally.

Your wycked soule shall neuer nye,
But lyue in payne for euermore,
Because ye paste not for my lore.

"Awaye, awaye ye wycked sorte !
Awaye, I saye, oute of my syght :
Henseforth you ¹sha[ll] haue no conforte,
But bytter mournynge daye and nyght,
Extreme darknes wythouten lyghte.
Wepyng, waylynge, wyth sobbyng sore,
Gnashyng of teeth for euermore,

"Your conscience shall not be quiete,
But shall styll burne lyke flameynge fyre ;
No burnyng brymston hath such heate
As you shall haue for youre iuste hyre ;
The hote vengeaunce of my greate ire
Shall be styll boylynge in your breaste,
So that you shall neuer take reste."

Then shall the wycked fall in haste
Downe into the pyt bottomelesse ;
Moste bytter paynes there shall they taste,
And lyue euer in greate distresse.

None shall confort theyr heauinesse ;
In deadly paynes there shall they lye :
And then they would but shall not dye.

¹ (sh e)

The blood of all
who have perished
is required at
your hand,

417

420 *John. v*

[Page 42]

and you must
dwell with
Lucifer.

424

Mark. ix

427

431

Depart into dark-
ness and sorrow,
[Page 48]

434 *Mat. xxv*
Luke .xiii.

438

into the lake of
fire and brim-
stone.

441

Mat. viii.

445 [Page 44]

The wicked will
then fall into hell,

448 *Apocal. ix.*

	¶ Such as were here so loth to dye, That they thought no ph[y]sicke to dere, Shall there lyue in such miserie That only death myght their hertis chere.	452
where they shall ever be wishing to die.	They shall alwayes desyre to here That they myght dye for euermore, Theyr paynes shal be so passyng sore.	455
[Page 45]	Then shall Christe wyth his chosen sorte Triumphautely returne agayne To hys Father, geueyng conforte	
<i>Apoc. xxi</i> [See Rev. xx. 4.]	To such as for hys sake were slayne. No wyght shall there fele any payne, But all shall lyue in such blysse there, As neuer tonge coulde yet declare.	459 462
That we may live with Christ in heaven,	That we maye then lyue in that place, Wyth Christe oure kynge that hath vs bought, Let vs crie vnto God for grace To repent that we haue mysse wrought ; And where we haue wyckedly sought	466
<i>Luke .xix.</i> [Page 46]	To be made ryche by wycked gayne, Let vs restore all thynges agayne.	469
let the poor man enjoy his copyhold;	Let the pore man haue and enioye The house he had by copleholde, For hym, his wyfe, and lacke hys boye, To kepe them from hunger and colde ; And thoughe the lease thereof be solde, Bye it agayne though it be dere,	473
<i>Phil. iiii.</i>	For nowe we go on oure laste yere.	476
let the enclosures be laid open again ;	Caste downe the hedges and stronge mowndes, That you haue caused to be made Aboute the waste and tyllage growndes, Makeyng them wepe that erste were glad ; Leste you your selves be stryken sadde, When you shall se that Christe doeth drye	480
[Page 47]	All teares from the oppressedis eye,	483
<i>Apoc. xxi.</i>		

Restore the fynes, and eke the rent,		let all fines and rents be restored;
That ye haue tane more then your due ;		
Else certainly you shall be shent,		
When Christe shall your euidence view ;	487	
For then you shall fynde these wordes trew,		
You are but stuardes of the lande,		
That he betoke into your handes.	490	<i>Luke .xii.,</i>
And you that haue taken by lease		and let the leasemongers work for their living.
Greate store of growndis or of houseyng,		[Page 48]
Your lyueyng thereby to encrease,		
And to maynetayne you loyeterynge,	494	
Fall nowe to worcke for your lyueyng,		<i>ii. The. iii</i>
And let the lordes deale wyth theyr growndis		
In territories, fieldes, and townes.	497	
You do but heape on you Gods ire,		You only heap on . yourselves the anger of God.
Whych doubtles you shall fele shortly,		
In that you do so muche desyre		
The lease of eche mans house to bye.	501	
You study no mans wealth, pardye,		<i>Esai. v.</i>
But all men se you do aduaunce		
Your selfe by pore mens hynderaunce.	504	
What though your liueing ly theron ?		[Page 49]
Shoulde you not geue them vp therfore ?		
It is abhomination ;		It is an abomin- ation.
And doubtles God wyll plage it sore.	508	
Repent, I saye, and synne no more,		
For nowe the daye is euen at hande		
When you shall at your tryall stande.	511	
Let not the wealthy lyueyng here		Repent, or else you will lose heaven.
(Which can but a shorte tyme endure)		
Be vnto you a thyng so dere		
That you wyll lose endlesse pleasure,	515	
Rather then leaue the vayne treasure.		
O, rather let your leases go,		[Page 50]
Then they shoulde worke you endlesse woe.	518	

**Restore the tithes,
that the poor,
the blind, and
the lame,**

Restore¹ the tythes vnto the pore,
 For blynde and lame shoulde lyue theron,
 The wydowe that hath no succoure,
 And the chylde that is lefte alone ;
 For if these folke do make theyr mone
 To God, he wyll sure heare theyr crye,
 And reuenge theyr wronge by and by.

522

525

and true preachers may live thereon.

[Page 51]

Restore your tythes, I saye, once more,
That tr[e]we preachiars may lyue theron,
And haue all nedefull thynges in store
To geue to such as can get none,
Leste theyr greate lamentation
Do styr the Lorde vengeance to take,
Euen for hys trueth and promes sake.

529

532

**You, the men of
God, must give up
your pluralities.**

Geue ouer your pluralities,
Ye men of God, if you be so ;
Betake you to one benefice,
And let your lordelyke lyueuynge go,
For holy wryte teacheth you so.
Learne at the laste to be content
Wyth thynges that be sufficient.

536

539

[Page 52]

**You cannot do
two men's work.**

If you be mete to do seruice
 To any prince or noble man,
 Than medle wyth no benifice ;
 For certainly no one man can
 Do the duitie of moe men than
 Of one : which duitie you do owe
 To them that geue you wage, you knowe.

543

546

**Rob the people
no more.**

**☞ Robbe not the people that do paye
The tenth of theyr increase yerely,
To haue a learned guyde alway
Present wyth them to edifie
Them by teachyng the veritie,**

550

Malac, iii

[Page 58]

Boeth in his worde and eke his dede,
And to succoure such as haue nede.

553

¹ Rehore in original.

¶ And you that haue tane vsurie

Of such as nede draue to borowe,

Make restitution shortly,

Leste it turne you to great sorowe,

When no man can be your borowe,

Wich shal be at the daye of dome ;

Which doubtlesse is not longe to come.

You that have
taken usury,
make restitution.

557

Psal. xv.
[See *Psal. xlix. 7.*]
Phil. iiii.

¶ And you that by disceyte haue wonne,¹

Were it in weyght or in measure,

Be sorye that ye haue so donne,

And seke to stoppe Goddis displeasure,

By bestowyng this worldis treasure

To the confort, helpe, and succoure

Of such as be nedie and pore.

560

[¹ Orig. wome.] You that have
deceiued,
be sory and
make recom-
pense.

564

[Page 54]
Luke. iiii

¶ And you that erste haue bene oppreste,

And could not beare it patiently,

For you I thynke it shalbe beste

To repent you must hertily,

And call to God for his mercie,

To geue you grace forto sustayne

That crosse when it shall come agayne.

You who have
rebelled, repent
heartily.

567

571

To make an ende—let vs repent

All that euer we haue mysse wrought,

And praye to God omnipotent

To take from vs all wycked thought,

That his glory maye be styll sought

By vs that be his creatures,

So longe as lyfe in vs endures.

Let all repent,
and pray God
for mercy.

574 *Marc. 14*

578

[Page 55]

581

And that henceforth eche man maye seke

In all thyngis to profite all men,

And be in herte lowly and meke,

As men that be in dede Christen,

As well in herte as name ; and then

We shall haue blysse wythouten ende :

Unto the which the Lorde vs sende.

And let each man
seek the good of
others.

585

588

Amen.

[Page 56, blank]

[Page 57]

The Boke to the Christian Readers.

The "Trumpet"
warned all to
walk uprightly.

MY brother (the Trumpet) dyd warne you before,
That al men shuld walk in their callynge vp-
ryght,

Directyng their wayes by Gooddis holy lore,
knowyng that thei be always in the Lordis syght.
Whoe seeth in the darcke as well as in lyght.
He hath cryed vnto you all this last yere,
And yet non emendment doeth in you appeare. 595

God is welcome
to some men,
but they seem to
disdain His
warnings.

[* Page 58]

In dede, very many do him entertayne
Lyke as there were none more welcome then he.
Yet I thyncke they do his warnyng dysdayne,
Because he doeth tell them *what is theyr duetie,
For he is very playne wyth euery degre :
The rych and the myghtie he doeth nothyng feare,
No more doeth he wyth the pore mans falte beare. 602

The "Trumpet"
was sent to pre-
pare His way,

It pleased my father to sende him before,
That he myght make redy and prepare his waye,
By causeynge all men to walke in his lore,
That haue in tymes passed wandred astraye, 606
Leste payne be theyr portion at the laste daye.

and now I come
that men may
see, as in a glasse,
what their reward
shall be.

And nowe hath he sent me that they maye se,
As it were in a glasse, what theyr rewarde shal be :
I am the rewarde that al men shall haue,
For the iuste shall haue plesure and the wicked
payne.¹

[Page 59]

When euery man shal aryse oute of his graue,
And haue the spryte knyght to the body agayne, 613
In heauen or in hell they shall styll remayne :
Of blysse or of payne they shall haue theyr fyll—
The good sorte in heauen, and in hell the ill. 616

¹ panye in original.

Beholde me, therefore, wyth a gostly eie,
 And let me not from your presence departe ;
 For no doubt you wyll all wyckednes defye.
 So longe as I shall remayne in your herte, 620
 I shall cause you from wyckednes to conuert,
 So that, in the ende, you shalbe ryght sure
 To lyue wyth my father in ioye and pleasure. 623

Behold me,
 therefore, and let
 me not depart
 from your
 presence.

Finis.

¶ Imprin-
 ted at london by Robert
 Crowley dwellynge
 in Elie rentis in
 Holburne
 Anno Domini
 .M. D. L. I.


[Page 60]

[Bliss 1066, Bodl. Libr.]

[front leaf] **I The Way to**
Wealth, wherein is plain-
ly taught a most present Remedy
for Sedition. Wrytten and imprinted
by Robert Crowley the .iiij. of
Februarie in the yere of
our IOHNS.
A thousand five
hundred & fif-
tie
(::)

 In Elie Bentes in
Holburne

¶ Cum priuilegio ad im-
mendum solum.

 Who so thou be that doest desyre,
To liue and good dayes se,
Take that in thy tonge and thy lpps,
None y^e or disceite be,
Flee from y^e and do that good is,
Whereof commeth no blame,
Seke thou for peace diligently,
And then ensue the same.

Psalm xxxiiii.

[A i, back]

[Blank page.]

[A ii]

¶ By what meanes se-

dicion maye be put a-woye, and

what distruction wil folow if it be

not put away speedely.

Consultatio Robert

Croket .:

Conside.

ring that al men maye playnely perceiue the
 greate hurte *that* (of late daies) Sedicion hath
 done in thys realme, & that all wyse men maye
 esilye gather what greater hurte is lyke to
 ensue, if it be not spedely sene vnto, it shalbe euery 5
 true Englyshmans duty forth-wyth to employe his
 whole study to the remouyng of so great an euel oute
 of so noble a realme and commone wealth; leste, haply
 (if through negligence it growe and take deper rote)
 it be shortly to stronge and more suerly grounded than
 that it maye be rooted oute wythoute the vtter de-
 struction of the whole realme. For what can be more
 true then that whych the Trueth it-selfe hath spoken? 13
 "Euery kyngdome" (sayeth Christe) "that *is deuided
 in it-selfe shall be broughte to nought." Intendynge,
 therefore, to playe the parte of a true Englyshman, and
 to do all that in me shall ly to plucke thys stincking
 wede vp by the rote, I shal in thys good busines do as,
 in their euell exercise, the dise-playars (that gladlye 19
 woulde, but haue nothyng to playe for) do:—Holde
 the candle to them that haue wherewyth, and wyll
 sette lustily to it. And so doying, I shal be no lesse
 worthy the name of a true herted Englishman then
 the trumpettar is worthy the name of a man of war,
 thoughte he do not in dede fyght, but animate and
 encourage other.

Sedition therefore, beinge a daungerous disease in
 the bodie of a commen-wealth, muste be cured as the
 expert Phisicians do vse to cure the daungerous diseases
 in a naturall bodie. And as the moste substanciall
 waye in curinge diseases is by puttinge awaye the 31
 causes wherof they grewe, so is it in the pullinge vp of
 Sedition. For if the cause be once taken awaye, then
 muste the effecte nedes faile. If the rote be cut of the

Considering what
 sedition has done,
 it is a duty to see
 what can be done
 to remove the
 evil out of this
 noble realm;

because if let
 alone it may take
 such deep root,
 that it may be
 the ruin of the
 kingdom.

Mathew .xii.
 ["A li, back¹"]

Intending to act
 as a true English-
 man, and to do
 all I can to re-
 move so stinking
 a weed,

I shall hold the
 candle to those
 who can and will
 remedy the mat-
 ter, and so shall
 be no less worthy
 the name of
 Englishman
 than a trumpeter
 that of man of
 war.

26

Sedition is a
 disease, and must
 be cured, as
 physicians cure
 the dangerous
 diseases of the
 natural body,

31

by putting away
 the cause. If
 the root be cut

¹ There are 32 pages. The signatures *marked* are these,
 A .ii., B .i., B .ii., B .iii., B .iiii. "An° 1550" is written on title.

the branch must die.

branch must nedes die. The boughes cannot budde if the tree haue no sappe.

37 Geue eare therfore (O my countrey-men) geue eare !

Do not disdain my advice,

[* A iii]

for the matter *Daniel .xiii.* requires every man's counsel.

If I tell you the truth, don't be ashamed to do what I bid.

Gene. xxi. Abraham obeyed Sarah ;

the Ninevites obeyed Jonah, *Jonas .iii.* and sat in sackcloth and ashes ;

Herod listened to John the Baptist, because what he said *Marcke vi.* was true ;

Give ear, then, to me, if you are not prouder than Babylon or more cruel than Herod.

[¹ orig. care]

If I ask the poor man the cause of the sedition, he will answer,

[² orig. butharies.]

"The farmers, graziers, lawyers, merchants, gentlemen, knights, and lords.

Men without a name, because

[† A iii, back]

they are doers of all things where gain is to be had. They are men without conscience, without fear of God ; yea, men who live as though there were no God at all. They are never satisfied ; they are greedy gulls, and would eat up

And do not disdaine to heare the aduise of one of the leaste of youre brethren, *for the matter requireth euerie mans counsell, and God reueiled vnto younge Daniell that whiche the whole counsell of Babilon perceiued not. Geue eare, I saye, and if I tell you trueth, be not ashamed to do *that* I bid, though ye knowe me to be at youre commaundement. For Abraham was contented to do at the biddinge of Saraie his wife, because he knewe that hir biddinge was Gods will. And the Niniuites did, at the biddinge of pore Ionas, sit in sackcloth & ashes, because they perceiued that he tolde them the trueth. Yea, cruell Herode did not refuse to heare Iohn Baptiste, because the thinge whiche he told him was true. Leaste you therfore shulde be more loftie then the Babilonians, more shamefast then Abraham, more stubborne then the Niniuites, & more cruell then Herod, geue eare,¹ and patientlye heare what I shal saye ! 55

The causes of Sedition muste be roted oute. If I shuld demaunde of the pore man of the contrey what thinge he thinketh to be the cause of Sedition, I know his answer. He woulde tel me that the great ferm-ares, the grasiers, the riche bucharas², the men of lawe, the marchauntes, the gentlemen, the knightes, the lordes, and I can not tel who ; men that haue no name because they are †doares in al thinges that ani gaine hangeth vpon. Men without conscience. Men vtterly voide of Goddes feare. Yea, men that liue as though there were no God at all ! Men *that* would haue all in their owne handes ; men that would leaue nothyng for others ; men that would be alone on the earth ; men that bee neuer satisfied. Cormerauntes, gredye gulles ; yea, men that would eate vp menne, women, & chyl dren, are the causes of Sedition ! They take our houses ouer

our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leaue great (yea vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commens! No custome, no lawe or statute can kepe them from oppressyng vs in such sorte, that we knowe not whyche waye to turne vs to lyue. Very nede therefore constrayneth vs to stand vp agaynst them! In the countrey we can not tarye, but we must be theyr slaues and laboure tyll our hertes brast, and then they must haue al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these vnsaciabie beastes haue all in theyr handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole allyes, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea whole streats and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, some triple, and some four fould to that *they were wythin these .xii. yeres last past. Yea, ther is not so much as a garden grownd fre from them. No remedye therefore, we must nedes fight it out, or else be brought to the lyke slauery that the French men are in! These idle bealies wil deuour al *that* we shal get by our sore labour in our youth, and when we shal be old and impotent, *then* shal we be driuen to begge and craue of them that wyl not geue vs so muche as the crowmes that fall from their tables. Such is the pytie we se in them! Better it were therefore, for vs to dye lyke men, then after so great misery in youth to dye more miserably in age!

men, women, and children. They take our houses over our heads, buy our lands, raise our rents, and enclose our commons. No law can keep them from oppression. We don't know which way to turn so as to live. In the country we are their slaves, and they will have all; in the city they have all in their hands,

84
and have doubled and trebled the [* A iv] rents these 12 years past.

88
We must fight it out, or become like the French.

They devour all we get in our youth, and when we are old we must beg, and then they won't give us the crumbs which fall from their tables. Better die like men than, after such misery in youth, die more miserably in age!"

Alas, poor man! It pities me to see you in such misery, and because you know not your duty in such trouble.

Alasse, poore man, it pitieth me to se the myserable estate that thou arte in! Both for that thou arte so oppressed of them by whom thou shouldest be defended from oppression, and also for that thou knowest not thy dutye in thys great misery. Thow art not so much oppressed on the one side, but thou art more destituted on the other syde. They *that* should norish and defend thy body in thy labour, do oppresse the; & they *that* shuld fede thy soule & strengthen thy mind to beare al this patiently, do leaue *that* alone. If thy

104

They that should nourish you oppress you, and they who should feed you leave you alone.

If your shepherd
had been diligent

[* A iv, back]

112

the wolf might
have come in
nine sheepskins
and not have
deceived you.

You wouldn't
have been per-
suaded you could
prevail against
the sword.

119

To revenge
wrongs is, in a
subject, to usurp
the king's office,
for the king is
God's minister,
to revenge the
wrongs done to
the innocent.

126

Christ would
never go beyond
the bounds of a
private man, as
Luke .xii.
was seen when He
was asked about
the inheritance,

133

and in the matter
of the woman
taken in adultery.

[† A v]

137

If you had known
all this, and had
John .xiii.
remembered
other examples,
Numeri .xvi.
you would have
ii. Reg. .xviii.
allowed your-
selves to be torn
in pieces rather
than rebel against
the king.

shepherde had bene a diligent watchman, & had espied the woulfe comyng vpon the, before *thou* hadst bene within his reach, he wold haue stepped *betwene *the* & thine enemi, & enstructed *the* in such sort, *that*, though he had come in nine shepe skinner, yet he shoulde not haue deceiued thy syghte. The deuell shoulde neuer haue perswaded the *that* thou myghtest reuenge thyne owne wronge! The false prophetes shoulde neuer haue caused the to beleue that thou shouldeste preuaile againste them with the swerde, vnder whose gouern-
aunce God hath apointed the to be. He would haue told the that to reuenge wronges is, in a subiect, to take and vsurpe the office of a kinge, and, consequently, the office of God. For the king is Goddes minister to reuenge the wronges done vnto the innocent. As he that taketh in hande, therefore, or presumeth to do anye office vnder a kinge, not beinge lawfully called vnto it, presumeth to do the office of a kinge, so he that taketh in hand to do the office of a king, taketh Goddes office in hand.
We reade that oure Sauoure Christ, beinge in the estimation of the worlde but a priuate man, wold not walke out of the boundes of that vocacion. But, when a certaine man came vnto him & desired that he would commaund hys brother to deuide the enheritaunce wyth him, he axed who had appointed him to be iudge in suche matters? And againe, when the woman taken in adultery was broughte vnto hym, he shoulde not geue sentence † of the lawe againste her, but axed hir if any man had condemned hir, and vpon hir denial let hir go. If these examples, with the terrible stories of Corah, Dathan, Abira[m] and Absalom had ben diligently beaten into thine heade, thou wouldeste (no doubt) haue quieted thy selfe, and haue suffered thy selfe rather to haue bene spoyled of altogether, yea, and thy bodie toren in peces, rather then thou wouldest haue taken on the more then thou art

called vnto. For no cause can be so greet to make it 145

lawful for the to do againste Goddes ordinaunce. But

thy shepeherde hathe bene negligent, as (alas the while!) all shepeherdes be at this daie, and hath not enstructed the aright. He espied not the wolf before

he had worried the, or happlye he knewe him not frome 150

a shepe. But it is moste like he was but an hirelinge,

and cared for no more but to be fedde with the milcke

& fatlinges and cladde with the woule, as the greateste

numbre of them that beare the name of shepeherde in

Englande be at this daie. Yea, perchaunce he had

many flockes to kepe, & therfore was absent from them

al, leauing with euerye flocke a dogge that woulde

rather worye a shepe then driue away the woulfe. 158

Wel, brother, these be greate plagis, & it behoueth

the synnes to be greate that haue *deserued these so

great and intollerable plagis at Goddes hande. Returne

to thi conscience therfore, and se if thou haue not de-

serued all this, and more to. Consider, firste, if thou

haue loued thy neighbour as thy self; consider if thou

haue done nothing vnto him that thou wouldeste not

that he shoulde do vnto the. Loke if thou haue not

gone about to preuent him in any bargaen that thou

hast sene him about; loke if thou haue not craftely

vndermined him to get some thing out of his hand, or

to deceiue him in some bargein. Loke if thou haue

not laboured him oute of his house or ground. Se if 171

thou haue not accused him falsely or of malice, or else

geuen false euidence againste him. Se if thou haue not

geuen euell counsell to his wife or seruantes, which

might turne him to displeasure. Consider if thou haue

not desired and wished in thine herte to haue his com-

moditie from him if thou mightest, without blame of

the worlde, haue broughte it aboute. For God loketh

vpon the herte, and if thine herte haue bene infected

with ani of these euilles, then haste thou bene abomin-

But all shepherds
are negligent at
this day,

and yours was,
perhaps, a
hireling, and
only cared to be
fed and clothed,
as the greatest
number do.

Perhaps he had
many flocks to
keep, and left a
dog with every
one, that would
rather worry the
sheep than drive
away the wolf.
These are great
plagues, and

[* A v, back]
your sins must
have been great
to deserve them.
See if you haven't
deserved them.
Have you loved
your neighbour
as yourself, and
done nothing
unto him that
you wouldn't do
to yourself?
Never tried to
overreach him
in a bargain?
Have you not
deceived him in
many things?

Have you not
accused him
falsely, or of
malice?
Given false
evidence against
him?

Have you not
coveted his
goods?
And wouldn't
you have brought
it about if you
could without
blame?
God looks on the
heart, and if you

have done this
you are abomin-
able in His sight,
and have de-
served punish-
ment.
And if you are
abominable in
[* A vi]
your behaviour
to your neigh-
bour, how do you
stand in God's
sight?
God requires
Math. xxi.
your whole
heart, mind, and
body,
and how could
you love Him if
you loved not
your brother?

able in the sight of God, and haste deserued these
plages at Goddes hand. 182

Now if you be found abhominable in thy behaiouire
towards thy neighbour what shalt thou be founde, trow-
est thou, in *thy demaners to God ward? God requireth
thine whole hert, thyne whole mynd, and al the powers
of thy body and soule. "Thou shalt loue thy Lord God
wyth all thy lyfe, wyth al thy mynd, and wyth al thy
strength." That is to say, ther shal be nothyng in the
whyche thou shalt not apply wholly to the loue of thy
Lord God. But how was it possible for the to loue God
(whom thou seest not), syth thou louest not thy brother
whom thou seest? God requireth the to loue him euer,

How many
benefits have you
received and
been unthankful,
and thought you
had won them
by your own
power, as though
God had not
given them to
you?

194 and how often hast thou gone whole dayes together,
whole weekes, yea whole yeres, and neuer thought once
to loue hym aught? How many, and how great bene-
fites hast thou receyued at Goddes hand, and howe
vnthanckful hast thou bene for them, thynckynge that
thou haste gotten them by thyne owne laboure and not
receyued them frely at Goddes hand? As though God
had not geuen the thy lyfe, thyne health, and thy
strength to laboure! Yea, and as thoughe it were not

By His works
you know there
is a God.
Yet you have not
[† A vi, back]
honoured Him,
Romaynes .i.
but have turned
His glory into
an image like to
man, and have
gone from place
to place to
honour a thing
of your own
making.

203 God only that geueth the increase of euerye mans
labour. But knowynge by thyne owne creacion and
bryngyng vp, and also by the yonge fruite that God
sendeth the of thy bodi, & further by the frutes that
God sendeth, and causeth yerely to growe out of the
earth, that there is a God Almyghty. Yet thou hast
† not honoured him as God, but hast turned the glorie of
God into an image made after the shape, or similitude,
of mortall man; renninge and ridinge from place to
place to seke and to honoure thinges of thine owne
makeinge; crienge and callinge vpon them in thy nede
and paying vnto them thy vowes, and thancking them
for thyne health receiued; doinge them dayly worships

216 and reuerence in the temples, and bestowinge thine

almes vpon them in deckinge them and setting lightes 217

before them! Beside this thou haste put confidence of saluacion in pardones that *thou* haste bought, in prayers that thou hast hiered, or mumbled vp thy selfe, in Masses that thou hast caused to be saide, and in worckes that thou thy selfe haste fantasied; and haste not thankefullye receyued the free mercye of God offered vnto the in Christ, in whom only thou maiste haue remission of thy sinnes! And therefore God hath geuen the vp in to a reprobate minde to do the thinge that is not beseming. Euen to stande vp againste God and Goddes ordinaunce, to refuse his Holy Word, to delite in lies and false fables, to credite false prophetes, and to take weapen in hand against Goddes chosen ministers: I saye his chosen ministers, for be they good or bad, they are Goddes chosen, if they be *good, to defende the innocente, if they be euell, to plage the wicked. If thou wilt therfore that God shall deliuer the or thy children from the tirannie of them that oppresse the, lament thine olde sinnes, and endeavour emendment of life. And then he that caused King Cirus to send the Iewes home to Ierusalem againe, shall also stire vp our yong king Edward to restore the to thy liberty againe, and to geue straight charge that non shalbe so bolde as once to vexe or trouble the. "For the herte of a kinge is in Goddes hand, & as he turneth the riuers of water, so turneth he it."

Be sure therfore, that if thou kepe thy selfe in obedience and suffer al this oppression patiently, not geueing credite vn to false prophecies that tel the of victori, but to the worde of God that telleth the thy dutie; thou shalt at the time, and after the maner that God hath alredie pointed, be deliuered. Perchaunce God wyl take from thine oppressours their hard stony hertes, & geue them hertes of fleshe; for it is in hys power so to do. Let him alone therfore. Reade the

You have put your trust for salvation in pardons which you have bought, and in masses which you have caused to be said, and in works which you have imagined.

So God has given you up to a reprobate mind,

Rom. i.

to refuse His word, to delight in lies and fables, believe false prophets, and to rebel against His ministers.

232

[* A vii]

If you wish to be delivered from oppression you must lament your sins, and strive to amend *i. Eudras. i.* your manner of living.

Then King Edward will give liberty again, and give command that none shall oppress you. *Proverb. xxi.*

243

Be obedient, and suffer patiently, giving no ear to false prophecies which speak of victory, but listen to God, *Ezech. xi.* and in the end you shall be delivered from all your oppressors,

252

Reade Ieremie hys prophetic.

and learn your duty in captivity, how vain to believe prophecies of victory if you deserve captivity.

If you are still stubborn, God will make you stoop; and if your rulers are too weak He will bring strangers in to subdue you.

Don't strive against the stream—
It is all for your sins that you suffer this oppression.
God has sent it, and you must bear it:
let it not be in vain, let it do what He intended it should do; and if you repent you will become a new man.

Then you shall have true prophets,

[† A viii]

who will not leave you destitute of a diligent guide, as your shepherds do now-a-days.

prophecie of Ieremie, and especially the seuen and twentieth Chapter, the eighte and twentieth and the nine and twentieth, and therein thou shalte learne thy duction in captiuitie, and howe wayne a thyng it is to *credite the prophetes that prophecie vycorie to theym that haue, by their synnes, deserued to be led awaye captiue, yea, and to remaine captiue till suche time as the

260 time be complete duringe whiche God hath determined to punishe them. And know thou for certentie, that if thou be stil stouberne, God wil not leaue the so. He will bringe the on thy knees; he wyl make the stoupe! If the gentlemen and rulars of thy countreie shoulde be to weake for the, he would bringe in strainge nations

266 to subdue the (as the Babilonians did the Iewes) and leade the away captiue. So that, refusing to serue in thine own countreie, thou shalte be made a slaue in a strainge contrei. Quiet thy selfe therefore, & striue not againste the streame. For thi sinnes haue deserued this oppression, and God hath sent it the as a iust rewarde for thy sinnes; & be thou neuer so loth, yet nedes sustaine it thou muste. Apointe thy selfe therefore to beare it. Let it not be layed vpon the in vain; let it do the thing that God hath sent it for; let it cause the to acknowledge thy sinne, repent it, and become altogether a new man. That in the day when God shall deliuer the, his name maie be glorified in the.

And then God shal send the plentie of true prophets, that shal go before the in puriti of life and godli doctrine. / † They shal not come or send .iiii. times in an yere and no more; neyther shal they set one to gather vp the tenth of thyne encrease to their behoufe, and leaue the destitute of a diligente guyde (as thy shepherdes do nowe a dayes)! But God hath promised by hys prophete to take awaye these shepherdes from the, and to comyt the to the kepyng of Dauid hys fayeth-

288 ful seruaunte; that is to saye, to such as wyl be as

diligent in feadyng the, as Dauid was in gouernynge the people of whom he had gouernaunce. 289

Geue eare therefore ye shephardes of thys church of Englande! Ye Byshoppes, ye Deanes, Archdeacons and Canons; ye Persons and ye Vicars, what soeuer ye be, that receyue any parte of the tenth of mens yerelye increase, or any other patrimony of preachers, geue eare to the prophet Ezechiel! For the same Lord that bad him speake vnto the sheperdes of Iuda, byddeth hym speake vnto you nowe also. "Thou sonne of manne," sayth the Lord, "prophecy agaynst the shepherdes of England, prophecy and say vnto those shepheardes:—thus sayeth the Lord God: Wo be to the shepherdes of England, that haue fed them selues! What ought not those shepherdes to haue fed those flockes of England? Ye eate the fatte, and decke youre selues *with the woule, & the mutton that is fat ye kil to fede vpon, but these silli shepe ye fede not. The soroweful & pensieue ye haue not comforted, the sicke ye haue not healed, the broken ye haue not bound vp, the stray shepe ye haue not brought againe nor sought for the lost. But with extreme crueltie ye haue plaid the lordes ouer them, &c." I nede not to reherse more of this prophets sayng vnto you, for ye know where to haue it, and haue leysure inough to seke it, for ought that I se you busied withal; onlesse it be with purchaisinge landes for youre heires, & finde fingered ladies, whose womanlike behaiour and motherlike housewifry ought to be a lighte to al women that dwell aboute you, but is so fare otherwise, that, vnlesse ye leaue them landes to marye them wythall, no man wyll set a pinne by them when you be gone. Wel, loke to this geare be tyme, leaste perhappes it brede a scabbe emonge you. 298

I woulde not your wiues shoulde be taken from you, but I wold you shoulde kepe them to the furtheraunce of Goddes trueth, wherof ye professe to be teacheares. *Ezech.*
xxviii.
"Woe to the shepherds of England, who haue fed them-
[* A viii, back] selves.
You eat the fat, and wear the wool, and kill the best, but these sheep you feed not.
The sorrowful you haue not comforted; the sick you haue not healed; the broken you haue not bound up; the straying you haue not recovered. But with extreme cruelty you haue played the lords over God's heritage."
Nota bene
how prysters wyues ought
[f]o behaue them selves
&c &c.
320

Give ear, ye bishops, deans, archdeacons, parsons, and vicars, whatsoever you are, who receive tenths of men's yearly increase, to the Prophet Ezechiel, whom God has commanded to speak to you.

I would not take your wives from you, but I would have them kept to further God's truth, whereof you profess to be teachers;

- 325 Let youre wiues therefore put of theire fine frockes and
 Frenche hoodes, & furnishe them selues with al pointes
 of honest housewifery, and so let them be an helpe to
 youre studie and not a lette. S. Paul teacheth *you
 not to make them ladies or gentlewomen. Neither
 doeth he teache you to be so gredie vpon liueings, that,
 for the liueinge sake, ye will take vpon you the dueties
 of twentie men, and yet do not the duetie of one ; no,
 some of you be not able to do anye part of one dutie !
 If Goddes Worde do alow it that one of you shulde be
 a deane in one place, a canone in an other, a parson
 here and a parson there, a Maister of an house in
 Oxforde or Cambridge and an officer in the kinges
 house, and yet to do none of the duities herof thorowly ;
 then set your pennes to the paper, and satisfie vs bi
 Goddes Word, and we wil also helpe you to oure
 power to satisfie the consciences of them that be of-
 fended at youre doinges herin. If you can not do so,
 then geue ouer youre/pluralities and make your vn-
 saciable desires geue place to Goddes trueth. Content
 your selfe with one competent liueinge, and faile not to
 be diligente in doinge the duetie therof. But if ye
 wyll do neither of boeth, truste to it ye shall heare
 more of it ! Your checkinge of one or two in a corner
 can not stop euerye mannes mouth in a matter of
 trueth, beyng so great an infamie to the Gospel of
 God which ye professe. And if ye wil nedes hold
 stil your pluralities for your lordlike liueing sake, doubt
 †ye not ye wyll be charged with that whiche ye woulde
 seme to be cleare of. For a great numbere of youre
 vnworthye curates haue bene the stirrars vp of the
 simple people in the late tumultes that haue bene ;
 where as if you had not robbed them of that which
 thei paye yearely to haue a learned and Godly teacher,
 they had bene better enstructed, as appeared by the quiet-
 nes that was emonge them that had such shepheordes.

that they may be
 a help, and not a
 [* B i]
 hindrance.
 i. *Timo. iii.*

If God's word
 allow you to
 hold diuers
 offices in diuers
 places, to be a
 dean in one, a
 canon in another,
 a parson here,
 and a parson
 there,
 set your pens to
 paper, and prove
 it, and we will
 aid you all in
 our power.
 If you can't do
 this, give over
 your pluralities,
 and be content
 with one living,
 and do your duty,

or you will hear
 more of it.
 Your checking
 of one or two
 men in a corner
 can't stop every
 man's mouth in
 a matter of
 truth.

[† B i, back]

Your unworthy
 curates have
 stirred up the
 people in the
 late tumults.

Where they had
 a godly teacher
 the people were
 quiet.

Well, brother, thou, I saie, that art thus oppressed on the one side and destituted on the other, take mine aduise with the. Submit thy self wholly to the wyll of God. Do thy laboure truly, cal vpon God continually. I meane not that thou shuldest be euer muttering on thy beads, or *that* thou shouldest haue any beads, but my meaninge is, that thou shouldest euer haue thine harte lifted vp vnto God; for so meaneth Sainte Paul when he sayeth, "I would men should pray alwayes, and in all places, liftinge vp their pure handes, &c." And in all thy doinges let thy desire be that Goddes wil be fulfilled in the, and what so euer God sendeth the, holde the content *withal*, and render vnto him most hertie thanckes, for that he dealeth so mercifully with the; acknowledginge that bi his iustice he might poure oute vpon the mo plages then euer *were heard of. And, when thou commeste to thy parishe church, if thy cur[a]te be an euell linear, then remember what Christe said vn to his disciples:—"When the Scribes and Pharises do set them downe vpon Moses seate, then do al that they commaunde you to do, but do not as they do; for they say & do not." Remember this, I saie, and what so euer thi curate biddeth the do when he sitteth on Christes seate, that is, when he readeth the Bible vnto the, that do thou. But folowe not his examples! Do not as thou seest him do; but at thy firste entraunce into the church, lifte vp thine herte vnto God, and desire of hym that he wyll geue the his Holye Spirit to illumine and lighten the eies of thine herte, that thou maist se and perceiue the true meaning of all the Scriptures that thou shalte heare reade vnto the that dai. And so shalt thou be sure, that thoughe thy curate were a deuell, and would not that any man shoulde be the better for that whiche he readeth, yet thou shalt be edified, and learne as much as shalbe necessarye for thy saluacion. And for thy

Well, brother, though you are oppressed and destitute, my advice is, submit to God's will and do your duty and call upon God continually. I don't mean that you should be muttering on your *i. Timo. ii.* beads always, but that you should ever be lifting your hearts to God, as S. Paul says. Let your wish be that God's will be done, and then, whatsoever happens to you, be content.

375

[* B II]

When you come to church remember what Christ said about *Math. xxiii.* sitting in Moses' seat,

381

and do as you are bid, but don't follow evil example: don't do as you see your curate do, but as soon as you enter church lift your heart to God,

389

then you may be sure that, though the curate were a devil,

you shall be edified, and learn as much as is

necessary for
you, and for your
sake your curate
shall speak
plainly, so that
you can under-
Actu. ii.
stand him.

[* B ii, back]

If you are de-
sirous to learn
your duty, God
will make it
plain.

He made the He-
brew tongue plain
to all men on the
day of Pentecost.

sake God shall make thy curate (that otherwise wold
mumble in the mouth & drounde his wordes) to speake
out plainly, or else he shall geue the such a gift that
thou shalt vnderstande him plainly. Of suche power
is *God, for when the Apostles spake in the Hebrue
tonge onlye al that were present heard euery man his
own language. Doubt thou not therfore but if thou
be desirous to learne thy duetie out of that thy curate
readeth to the, God wil make it plaine vnto the, though
it be not plainlye reade. For he that coulede make the
Hebrue tonge (which sowndeth far otherwise then
other tonges do) sownd al maner of languages, to euerie
man his owne language, can also make thine owne
language sownde plaine vnto the, though it were not
spoken anye thinge plaine.

Thus you see the
cause of sedition
is not where you
lay it, but your
own sin is the
cause.
Sedition is let
loose vpon you to
plague you for
your sins.

Thus seeste thou that the cause of Sedition is not
where thou laiest it, for I haue declared to the that thine
owne sinne is the cause that thou arte sedicious. For
Sedition is poured vpon the to plage thy former sinne
withall. Because thou knewest God bi his creatures and
yet didest not honoure him as God, he hath geuen the
ouer into a reprobate sence, to do the thinge that is
vnsemelye, euen to stande vp againste God and Goddes
ordinaunce, as I haue sayde before!

If I demand of
the "greedy cor-
morants" what
they think is the
cause, they will
answer,
"Peasant knaves
are too wealthy;
provender pricks
[† B iii]
them;
they regard no
laws;
they would haue
all things in
common;
would fix our
rents;
cast down our
parks; lay our
pastures open;

Nowe if I should demaund of the greedie cormer-
auntes what thei thinke shuld be the cause of Sedition,
they would saie:—"The paisant knaues be to welthy,
prouender pricketh them! They knowe not them
selues, they knowe no obedience, they regard no lawes,
thei would † haue no gentlemen, thei wold haue al men
like themselues, they would haue al thinges commune!
Thei would not haue vs maisters of that which is our
owne! They wil appoint vs what rent we shal take
for our groundes! We must not make the beste of oure
owne! These are ioly felowes! Thei wil caste doune
our parckes, & laie our pastures open! Thei wil haue

the law in their own handes! They wil play the kinges! They wyll compel the kinge to graunt theyr requestes! But as they like their fare at *the* breakefaste they had this laste somer, so let them do againe. They haue ben metely well coled, and shalbe yet better coled if they quiet not them selues. We wyll tech them to know theyr betters. And because they wold 439

and have the law in their own hands.

They liked the breakfast they had last summer; they were well cooled then.

haue al commone, we wil leaue them nothing. And if they once stirre againe, or do but once cluster together, we wil hang them at their own dores! Shal we suffer the vilaines to disproue our doynge? No, we wil be lordes of our own & vse it as we shal thinke good!

We will leaue them nothing.

We will hang them at their own doors.

We'll do as we like with our own."

Oh good maisters, what shuld I cal you? You *that* haue no name, you *that* haue so many occupacions & trades *that* ther is no on name mete for you! You vngentle gentlemen! You churles chickens, I say! 448

What shall I call you, you vngentle gentlemen, you churl's chickens?

Geue me leue to make answere for the pore ideotes ouer whom ye triumphe in this sorte. And this one thing I shal desire of you that ye report me not to *be one that fauoureth their euell doinges (for I take God to witnes I hate boeth theyre euell doinges and youre also), but geue me leaue to tel you as frely of your faultes, as I haue already told them of theires. And for asmuch as you be stronge and they weake, I shall desire you to beare with me though I be more earnest in rebuking your faultes, then I was in rebuking theirs.

I will answer for these poor idiots.

[* B ill, back] Don't say I fauour their evil doings—I hate them and yours also. Allow me to tell you your faults.

True it is, the pore men (whom ye cal paisaunte knaues) haue deserued more then you can deuise to laie vpon them. And if euerye one of them were able and shoulde sustaine as much punishment as thei al were able to sustaine, yet could thei not sustaine the plages *that* thei haue deserued. But yet if their offence wer laied in an equall balaunce with yours (as no doubt thei are in *the* sight [of] God) doubt not but you should sone be ashamed of youre parte. For what can you

True, the poor have deserved more than you can lay upon them,

463

but if their offence were put in an equal balance with yours, you would soon be ashamed.

Are they disobedient? you were first disobedient,

469 laye vnto their charge, but they haue had examples of the same in you? If you charge them wyth disobedience, you were firste disobedient. For without a law to beare you, yea contrarie to the law which forbiddeth

in enclosing the commons, contrary to law, in levying greater fines than heretofore, and in raising rents. When a law was passed against such things, you compelled your tenants to consent to your wishes.

Where was your obedience to the proclamation for laying open the enclosures?

What obedience did you give to the second proclamation issued by the king, concerning the contempt of his laws?

473 al maner of oppression & extortion, & that more is contrarie to conscience, the ground of al good lawes, ye enclosed frome the pore theire due commones, leauied greater fines then heretofore *haue bene leauied, put them from the liberties (and in a maner enheritaunce) that they held by custome, & reised theire rentes. Yea, when ther was a law ratified to the contrary, you ceased not to finde meanes either to compel your tenants to consent to your desire in enclosing, or else ye found such maistership *that* no man durste gaine saye your doinges for feare of displeasure. And what obedience shewed you, when the kinges proclamations were sent forthe, and commissions directed for the laying open of your enclosures, and yet you lefte not of to enclose stil? Yea, what obedience was this which ye shewed at such time as the kinges moste honourable counsell, perceiueinge the grudging that was among the people, sent forth the second proclamation concerning your negligence, or rather contempte,

492 in not laieinge open that which contrari to the good estatutes made in Parliament you had enclosed? It appeareth by your doinges that there was in you neither obedience to your prince and his laws, nor loue to your contrei. For if there had ben obedience in you, you wold forthwith haue put al his laws in execution to the vttermost of youre power. And if you had loued your contrei, woulde you not haue preuented the great destruction that chaunced bi the reasone † of your vnsaciable desire? I am sure you be not rulars in your contrey, but ye can se before what is likely to folowe vpon such oppression, & especialye in a realme that hath hertofore had a noble and a valiaunte com-

In this you showed neither obedience nor love of country. If there had been obedience you would have put his laws in force; if there had been love of country you

[* B iv, back] would have prevented the destruction which ensued.

You can see what must follow such oppression, especially in a

minalti. But graunt ye were so beastish, yet haue you not lacked them that haue tolde you of it both by wordes and writtinges. You haue ben tolde of it I saye, and haue had the threatninges of God laied plainlye before your eies, wherein you must nedes se the vengeance of God hanging ouer your heades for your lacke of mercy. Ther is not one storie of the Bible that serueth to declare how readi God is to take vengeance for the oppression of his people, but the same hath ben declared vnto you to the vttermoste; beside the notable histories and cronicles of thys realme, wherein doeth most plainly appeare the iustice of God in the reuenging of his people, at such time as they haue kept them selues in quiete obedience to their prince & rulers, & their destruction when they haue rebelled.

Wittinglye and willinglye therefore ye haue boeth disobeyed youre kinge and his lawes, and also broughte youre contrai into the miseri it is in, bi pulling vpon your self *that* vengeance of God whiche of his iustice he can not holde backe from such people as do *willinglye and wittinglye oppresse him in his membres in such sorte as ye haue done. Howe you haue obeyed the lawes in rakeinge together of fermes, purchaisinge and prolynge for benefices, robbing the people of good ministers therby, al the world seeth, and all godly hertes lament. Loke [at] the estatutes made in the time of our late souerayne of famouse memorye Henrie the .viii. & saye if ye maye by those estatutes (taken in theyr true meaninge), either beinge no priestes nor studentes in the Vniuersities, haue benefices, or other spirituall promotions (as you call theym, for ye are ashamed to calle theym ministracions, because ye neyther wyl nor can minister) or beinge priestes haue pluralities of such ministracions. Well I wyl burden you no more wyth youre faultes, leaste perhappes you

realm which has had such a valiant commonalty.

You have been told of all this before, and must see God's vengeance hanging over you.

There is not a story in the Bible which declares how ready God is to avenge oppression which has not been declared to you; besides, you have the histories and chronicles of our own country, in all which God's justice is shown.

You have disobeyed the king and the laws willingly, and brought vengeance upon you.

[* B v]

526

You have purchased farms and benefices, and robbed the people of good ministers.

530

Look at the laws passed in the late reign, and see whether a man, being neither a priest nor a student in a University, may hold a benefice, or spiritual promotion.

538

I will not burden you with any more faultes,

but this I will
say :—
You shall not
sooner be gentle-
men for your
oppression, nor
later for allowing
your tenants to
live by their
labour; and don't
think to prosper
the better for
your large desires.

548

[* B v, back]

You have been
the cause of
offence, and if
it were better
that he who is
the occasion of
one man's falling
were cast into
the sea, what
shall be thought
of you who have
been the cause of
so many falling?

[† orig. *disturbe*]

559

The king's blood,
if he had perished,
would have been
required at your
hands.

can not wel beare them. But thys I shall saye vnto you :—You shall neuer the soner be gentlemen for your stout oppression, nor the later haue thynges in priuate for that ye let youre tenauntes lyue by you vpon theyre laboure. And thincke not to prospere the better in youre vnsatiable desyre, for that you tryumphe so lordelyke ouer the poore caytyfes, that, beyng se-duced by the wayne hope of vycctorye promysed theym in piuysh prophecies *haue greatly offended God by rebellion: for the greater their offence is, the greater shall your plage be when it commeth. For you haue bene the only cause of theyr offence. If he therfore that is the occasion of one mans fallyng vnto any kynd of vyce were better haue a mylstone tied aboute hys necke and be cast into the depe sea wythall, what shalbe thought of you that haue bene the occasion of so many mens fallyng into so detestable synne and trespasse agaynste God, as to disturbe¹ the whole estate of their contrei with the great perill and daunger of their anointed kyng in hys tender age, whose bloud (if he had perished) should haue bene required at your handes, as the bloud of al them that haue perished shal?

Oh merciful God, were it not that Goddes mercy

564 is more then your synnes can be, ther were no way

But God is mer-
ciful, and is
ready to forgive
all who return
from their wicked
ways.

569

but to despayre of forgeuenes! But God is not onely mightye in mercy & able to forgeue al the synnes of the whole world, but he is also redye to forgeue al that returne from theyr wycked wayes, and, with a constant faith & sure beleue to obtayne, do call on hym for mercy. I aduertise you, therfore, & in the name of Christ (whose name you beare) I require you, that without delaye ye returne to your hertes & acknowledge your greuous and manifold offences, committed in your behauiour towardes the poore members of Christ (your brethren boeth by religion and nacion) whome you haue

I require you,
therefore, to own
your offences
against the poor,

[† B vi]

who are your
brothers by re-
ligion and nation.

576 so cruellye oppressed, [and] wyshe euen from the bot-

tome of your hertes, *that* you had neuer done it. Be 577

fully determined to make restitution of that ye haue misse taken, though ye should leaue your selues nothyng. For better is a cleare conscience in *the* hour of deth in a beggars bosome, then mountaynes of gould *with* a conscience *that* is gilt. Wishe that you had contented your selues *with* that state wherin your fathers left you, and striue not to set your children about the same, lest God take vengauce on you boeth sodenly when ye be most hastie to clime. And if for youre worthines God haue called you to offyce so that ye may wyth good conscience take vpon you *the* state that ye be called vnto, then se you deale iustly in all poyntes, & folowe not fylthy lucre to make your children lordes, but studye to furnish them *with* al knowledge and godly maners, that they may worthily succede you. 591

Be fully determined to make restitution, for it is better to die poor with a clear conscience, than to have mountains of gold and a guilty conscience.

Content yourselves with that state in which your fathers left you, and don't strive to place your children above it. If you are called to office, deal justly in all things, and do not follow filthy lucre.

Grudge not to se *the* people growe in wealth vnder you, neither do you inuent waies to kepe them bare, lest haply it chaunce vnto you as it did to King Nabuchedonozer¹ and hys seruauntes when they diuised wayes to kepe the Hebrues in slavery stil. 597

Grudge not to see the people grow in wealth,

Exodi. i.

They rebelled not, but quietly did theyr labour, refer- [B vi, back]

rynge theyr cause to God. They prepared not for warres, neither had any confidence in theyr own strength, but when the Egiptians thought to haue had a faire day at them, God drowned them al in the Redde Sea, and draue theyr deade bodies on land in such sorte that they, whom they thoughte to kepe styll in slauerye, myght easily take the spoyle of them. Thincke not therfore, but if the people quiete them selues in theyr oppression and cal vnto God for deliuer- 607

lest God serve you as He did the Egyptians, whom, when they thought to obtain the victory, *Exodi. xii.* He drowned in the Red Sea, and then cast their bodies on the land for the Hebrews to spoil.

aunce, he wyll by one meane or other geue them the spoile of their oppressours. He is as mighty nowe as he was in those dayes, and is now as able to slea boeth you and youres in one night as he was to slea al the *Exodi. xiiii.*

He is as mighty now as he was then.

¹ ? Pharaoh.

- 612 firste borne of the Egiptyans. And then who shal haue
 the spoile? Be warned betime, least ye repente to
 late! Leauē of your gredie desire to pul away the liue-
 ynge from the cleargy, and seke diligentl̄ye to set suche
 ministers in the churchē as be able and wyl enstruct
 the people in al pointes of theyr dutie, that you with
 618 them and they with you may escape the wrath of God
 that hangeth presently ouer you both. The kinge &
 citizens of Neniue were not ashamed to sitte in sacke-
 cloth and in ashes lamentynge their synnes, and there
 vpon *founde mercye. Wherefore, if ye wyll fynde
 mercye, ye muste not be ashamed to do the lyke, for
 certainlye the greatnes of your sinnes importeth as
 625 present distruccion to you as if ye were the same
 Niniuites *that* Ionas was sent vnto. Be not ashamed
 ther fore to proclame a solemne fast thorowe out the
 whole realme, *that* all at once with one voyce we may
 crye vnto God for mercy. Leauē of your communions
 in a corner & come to *the* open temples, *that* men may
 se *that* ye regard *the* Lords institution. Breake your
 bread to the pore, *that* al men may se *that* ye regard
 fastyng. For *that* is the true fast, to refraine the meate
 & drinke *that* accustomably we were wont to take, &
 635 geue the same (or the value therof) to the nedy. So shal
 you both fele & know theyr disease, and ease it also.
- Trust not to your great number of valiant war-
 rours, neither to your mightye prouisions, but re-
 member what befel to Holofernes *the* stout captaine
 of King Nobuchodonozer, when he woulde not harken
 to the right aduice of Achior hys vndercaptaine. For
 certainly I say vnto you, God was neuer more redy
 to deliuer his people of Israel from oppression at al
 644 times when they, walkinge in his wayes, committed
 their cause vnto him, then he is now redy to deliuer al
 Christen men that do wyth lyke confidence cal vpon
 him. † If you therfore wyl not hearken vnto Achior his
- Be warned in
time;
- appoint good
ministers; such
as are able and
willing to in-
struct the people;
- Ionas. iii.*
repent as the
Ninevites did, if
you would find
mercy, and be
[* B vii]
not ashamed to
behave as they
did.
- Be not ashamed
to proclaim a
fast, and to show
to all men that
you cry for
mercy.
Come to the
temples, that men
may see you
regard Christ's in-
stitution;
give bread to the
pore, for that is
the true fast.
- Don't trust in
your warriors,
- but remember
Holofernes
who would not
listen to the
advice of his
captain.
Iudeth. v.
- God is now
ready to deliver
all Christians
who confidently
[† B vii, back]

counsel, but determine to torment him, when ye shal triumph ouer the rest, doubte you not but Iudith shal cut of al your hedes, on after another, & God shal strike youre retinew *with* such a feare, *that* none shalbe so bolde as once to tourne hys face. Yea if there were no men left on liue to put *them* in feare, they should be feared wyth shadowes! And though ther were no gonnies to shote at *them*, yet the stones of the strete shuld not cease to flye emonge them, by the mightye power of God, who wyl rather make of euery grasse in the field a man, then such as trust in hym should be overrun or kept in oppression. Be warned therfore, & seke not to kepe the commones of England in slauery, for that is *the* next way to destroe your selues! For if thei commit theyr cause to God & quiet *them* selues in their vocacion, beyng contented with oppression, if Goddes wyll be so; then shal ye be sure that God wyll fyghte for them, and so are ye ouer matched. But if they wyl nedes take in hand to reuenge theyr owne wronge, God wyll fyght agaynst you boeth, so that you boeth, consumyng one the other, shall shortly be made a praye to *them* that ye doubt least of al the world.

(As you tender your owne wealth, therefore, *and the publique wealth of thys noble realme of Englande, which God hath enriched wyth so manye and so greate commodities, & as you desyre to vse and enioye the same, and not to be led away captiue into a strayinge nacion, or else be cruelly murdered among your wyues, kinsfolke, and children, and finallye to be damned for euer; so loke vpon these causes of Sedicion, and do your best endeuour to put them awaie. You that be oppressed, I say, refer youre cause to God. And you *that* haue oppressed, lament your so doinge and do the office of your callinge, in defendinge the innocente and fedinge the nedye. Let not couetyse constraîne you to robbe the people of that porcion which they paie to

call upon Him, but if you will not hearken, the same punishment *Iudeth .xiii. and .xx.* shall befall you as befell Holofernes, and you shall be afraid of shadowes if there are no men to make you fear.

656

Be warned; seek not to keep the commones of England in slavery, lest you destroy yourselves. For if they commit their cause to God, you may be sure He will fight for them.

666

[* B viii]
As you value your own and the public wealth of this realm of England; as you desire to enjoy the same, and not be led away captive or murdered, look upon these causes of sedition, and put them away.

Let the oppressed refer their cause to God; and the oppressor lament his sin.

681

Don't rob the people of godly ministers, who

instruct them in
their duty,

but seek for such
ministers, and
let them have all
the people pay.

689

So shall you
escape vengeance,
and be rewarded
at God's hand
with plenty of
all good.

[* B viii, back]

If you will not
take heed, you
shall be more
hardened than
Pharaoh.

700

May you by
repentance

705

710

escape the
danger.

715

Amen.

haue, godly ministers to enstruct them in their duetie,
and to releue the vnweldy that be not able to labour
for their fode. Be carefull and diligent to seke for
suche ministers, and, when you haue founde them, let
them haue al that the people paye yearely out of their
encrease, that they may liue ther on and minister vnto
the pore out of the same.

Thus doinge, ye shall not onely escape the venge-
ance that hangeth presentlye ouer you but also be re-
warded at Goddes hande, boeth with excedinge plenti-
of al good things in this life, & also with life euerlast-
inge *when nature shal ende the same. Where as

if ye wyl not take counsell, but remayne styl
in your wycked purpose, Pharaoh nor the So-
domites were neuer so hardened as you
shalbe, neyther is the remembraunce of

theyr distruccion so terrible to vs, as

the distruccion of you shalbe to

others that shall come af-

ter. The Spirite of

GOD worcke

in youre her-

tes, that

ye,

beynge

admonished

of the sword that

is commynge, maye

by repentaunce

of your syn

escape


the daun-

ger therof.


So be it.



An informa-

cion and Petition agaynst the oppressours
of the pore Commons of this Realme, compli-
led and Imprinted for this onely purpose
that amongst them that haue to doe
in the Parliamente, some godlye
mynded men, may hereat take
occacion to speake more in
the matter then the Au-
thoure was able to
write. * 

¶ Esaye .lviii.

 When you suffre none oppression to bee
amongest you, and leaue of youre idle talke:
then shal you cal vpon the Lord and he
shal hear you, you shal crie, and he
shal say, Behold I am at hand.

¶ To the moste honorable Lords of the Par
liament wyth the *communes* of the
same : theyr moste humble and
dayely Oratoure, Roberte
Crowley, wyssheth the
assistance of Gods
Holy Spirite.

[leaf 1]

A Monge the manyfold & moste weyghty mattiers
(moste worthy counsaylours) to be debated
and *communed* of in this present Parliament,
and by the aduise, assent, and consent therof
spedily to be redressed, I thynke ther is no
one thyng more nedfull to be spoken of then
the great oppression of the pore communes by the
possessioners, as wel of Clergie as of *the* Laitie. No
doubt it is nedfull, and ther ought to bee a spedy
redresse of many mattiers of religion, as are these :—
The vse of the sacraments and ceremonies ; the
vsurpyng of tenthes¹ to priuate *commoditie* ; the super-
fluouse, vnlearned, vndiscret, and viciouse ministers of
the church, and their superstitious and idolatrous ad-
ministracions. Of these thynges, I saye, ought ther to be
a spedy reformation. For they are now most lyk hastely
to brynge vppon thys noble realme the ineuitable
vengeaunce of God, if they bee not shortly reformed ;

Of all matters
to be discussed

5

nothing is more
urgent than that
concerning
oppression of
the poor.

10

Religious matters
also need to be
redressed and
reformed,

14

18

¹ Orig. tuthes.

because God has made them known to us. for asmuch as it hath pleased the almyghty and lyuyng God to open vnto vs those abhominacions, whych haue heretofore ben kept secret and hyd from vs.

These thynges, I say, ar yet far out of ioynt, and
23 had great nede to be refourmed.

[leaf 1, back] For notwythstandyng the Kynges maiesties late
The ignorant people still believe visitacion, the ignorant people, whoe haue longe ben fostred and brought vp in the supersticion and wronge beleue of these thynges, and are yet, no dout, secretly

28 instructed by their blinde guydes and by them holden styl in blyndnes, wyll not be perswaded *that* theyr forfathers supersticion was not the true fayth of Christ, tyl such tyme as they haue continuynge among them

32 such preachars as shall be able, and wyll, by the manifeste Scriptures, proue vnto them *that* both they & their fathers wer deceiued & knewe not howe to worship God aright; but, shamefulli seduced by the couetyse of the shepherdes and guydes, sought hym wher he was not; & when they thought they had ben
38 most hygh in his fauour, by doing him such honor as thei thought moste acceptable in hys syght, then committed they most detestable blasfemie, and were abhominable before hym.

42 Thys knowledge, I say, wyll not be beaten into the heads of the ignorante, so longe as theyr shepeherds be but hyrlynges and folowe lyuynges, for such minister
Ministers now are hirelings and butchers:

They are not shepeherdes but butchars. They come they come to be fed, but to be fed. And doubtles (moste Christen counsaylours) I thinke it not possible to
they come to be fed, not to feed:

49 amende this great enormitie, otherwise then by reduceynge the order of choseynge of the ministers vnto the order that was in *the* primitiue church, wherof is mentioned in the Act. of the Apostles. For so long as ydle bealies may come to the bishope and be smered for money, God shall saye to them by his Prophet, "You

Actu. 1.

Jere. 23.

did renne but I sent you not." They shalle be called [leaf 2]
 feedars of feedynge them selues, and not of fedynge 56
 the flock. They shall studye to please men & not to
 please God. In fine, they shall differ nothyng from they differ
 nothing from
 craftsmen
 the craftes men whyche applye an occupacion to get
 theyr lyuyng vppon, and not to the intent to profite
 the common weale. 61

The craftes man sueth for the fredom of a Citie, who seek for the
 freedom of the
 City,
 not because he intendeth to be a maintainer of the
 Citie, but because he hopeth that he shall lyue so
 muche the more welthyly hym selfe. And euen for 65
 lyk causes do our ministers, and are lyke styll to do
 (so longe as they maye bee receyued when they come
 vncaled), applye them selues to priestynge, because they
 lyke wel the ydelnes of the lyfe. because they will
 be better off.

I doubt not but the Kynges maiesties visitters
 knowe more of thys matter then I can be able to 71
 wrytte. And by them, I doubte not, you shall bee
 moued to commune of thys mattier at the full.

The sacramentes they styll abuse, vseing them as The Sacraments
 are still abused;
 matters of merchaundyce, and chiefly the most worthy 76
 memorie of our redemption; for that they selle boethe
 to the quicke and to the deade, to the rych and to the
 poore. None shall receyue it at theyr handes wythout
 he wyll paye the ordinarie shotte, and so are they redy
 to serue euery man. Thei loke vppon the monei onely
 and nothyng vppon the mynde. Whether it be taken
 to comfort of conscience or iudgement, they pas not; 82
 thei tel the monei, thei loke for nomore. If they wyll
 deny this to bee true, let them saye why they suffer
 the pore to begge money to paye for theyr housel, as
 they call it? Perchaunce they wyll answer that the
 money is not payede for the sacrament, but for the iiii
 offering dayes? Then aske I this question:—

Why thei appoint not another time to receiue it in
 then that time whyche is to lyttle to bee occupied in but excuse them-
 selves by saying
 [leaf 2, back]
 the money is not
 paid for the
 Sacraments, but
 for the four
 offering days.
 If so they should

collect the money
at some other
time.

But they take it
then because
they will make
sure of it.

The Sacrament
is administered
irreverently, and
only to such as
pay.

Many men write
and preach
against these
abuses; so that
there is just
reason to seek
for further
redress in the
Parliament.

I fear the op-
pression of the
poor will be
passed over in
silence,

[leaf 3]
unless God move
the hearts of the
possessioners to
sell their lands.

I do not advocate
a community of
goods.

I mean no such
thing.

declareynge to the people the right vse & profyte of the sacramentes, & to instructe them, so *that* they do

93 not receyue it to theyr iudgment, but to theyr confort and quietnes of conscience, for whych purpose it was first instituted? Vndoubtedli (most Christian counsailours) they can not deny but that they appoynt to receyue it then because they wyll be sure of it.

98 Theyr doeynges wyll declare it though they woulde deny it, for none may receyue the sacramentes vnles he do fyrste paye the money. And then, wyth how lyttle reuerence it is ministred and receyued, euery Christen hert seeth & lamenteth.

103 These thynges (I doubt not) are so euident and playne vnto you that it nedeth not to trouble you wyth manye wordes concerneynge the abuses therof. Many godly mynded men haue boeth written and preached, & do dayely write and preach, of and agaynst those abuses; wherfore I am certen that you haue iuste occasion and can do no lesse but seke a furdre ~~redres~~ herof (whyche all Chrysten hertes do desyr) in thys present
111 parliament.

But as for the oppression of the pore, whyche is no lesse nedfull to be *communed* of and reformed then the other, I feare me wyll bee passed ouer with silence, or if it bee *communed* of, I canne scarsely truste that
116 any reformation canne bee had; vnlesse God do nowe worke in the hertes of the possessioners of thys realme, as he dyd in the primitiue church, when the possessioners wer contented and very wyllynge to sell theyr possessions and geue the price therof to be *commune* to al the faythful beleuers. Take me not here that I shoulde go about by these wordes to perswade men to make all thynges *commune*; for if you do, you mistake me. For I take God to wytnes I meane no suche thyng. But with all myne herte I woulde wysh that
126 no man wer suffered to eate but such as woulde labour

in theyr vocacion and callyng, accordyng to the rule that Paule gaue to the Thessalonians.

2 *Thess.* 3.

But yet I woulde wysh that the possessioners woulde consyder whoe gaue them theyr possessions, and howe they ought to bestowe them. And then (I doubt not) it shoude not nede to haue all thynges made commune.

But I would have the possessioners remember who gave them their possessions and what for.

133

For what nedeth it the seruantes of the housholde to desyre to haue theyr maysters goods commune, so longe as the stuarde ministreth vnto euery man the thyng that is nedefull for hym?

137

If the possessioners woulde consyder *them* selues to be but stuardes, and not Lordes ouer theyr possessions, thys oppression woulde sone be redressed. But so longe as thys perswasion styketh in theyr myndes,—

Possessioners are only stewards, not lords, and there can be no redress

"It is myne owne; whoe shall warne me to do wyth myne owne as me selfe lysteth?"—it shall not bee

143

possible to haue any redresse at all. For if I may do wyth myne owne as me lysteth, then maye I suffer my brother, hys wyfe, and hys chyldrene to lye in the strete, excepte he wyll geue me more rent for myne

while they think they may do as they will with their own.

house *then* euer he shal be able to paye. Then may I

148

take his goods for that he oweth me, and kepe his body in prison, tournynge out his wyfe and chyldren to perishe, if God wyll not moue some mans herte to pittie them, and yet kepe my coffers full of goulde and syluer.

[leaf 3, back]

152

If ther were no God, *then* would I think it leafull for men to vse their possessions as thei lyste. Or if God woulde not require an accompt of vs for the bestoweynge of them/, I woulde not greatly gaynsaye, thoughe they toke theyr pleasure of them whylse they

If there were no God then it might be lawful to use possessions thus;

157

liued here. But forasmuch as we haue a God, and he hath declared vnto vs by *the* Scripturs *that* he hath made the possessioners but stuardes of his ryches, and that he wyl holde a streygh[t] accompt wyth them for the occupiynge and bestoweynge of them; I thynke

but there is a God, and He has made possessors stewards only.

162

163 no Christian ears can abyde to heare that more then
Turkysh opinion.

The Philosophers
said friends
should possess
in common:

The Philosophers who knewe nothyng of the bonde
of frendshippe which Christe our Maister and Redemer
left amonge vs, affirmed that amonge frendes al
thynges are common, meaneyng that frendshippe woulde

169 not suffer one frende to holde frome an other the
thyng that he hath nede of. And what shal we saye?
Are we not frendes? Surly if we be not frendes, wee
beare the name of Christe and bee called Christians in

If we haven't
more perfect
friendship than
they we are not
true Christians.

wayne. Yea if wee haue not a more perfecte frende-
shyppe then that whereof the Philosophers speake,
wee are but fayned Christians, we beare the name onely

176 and are nothyng lesse in dede. For this is the
token that Christe gaue whereby wee shoulde be knowen
to be of hym:—"If we loue one an other as he loued
vs." Howe he loued vs is declared by the wordes of

John .13.

Ephes. 5.

[leaf 4]
If we follow
Christ's example
we shall not spare
ourselves, but
shall give our
lives for the good
of others.

Accordynge to this exemple ought our frendshyp to be
such, that we wyll not spare to spende our lyfe for the
welth of our brothers. Not to fyght in theyr quarell
(for Christe bade Peter put vp the swerde into his
place), but to teach the truth boldly, without any feare

186 of death, and not to suffer oure brothers to bee led in
errore, though present death shoulde insue for so
doynge.

Some, perchaunce, wyll thynke that this frendshyp
is to be vnderstande onely of the pastors and shep-
herdes towarde theyr flocke; because Christ sayth that

John .10.

192 a good shepherde geueth his lyfe for his shepe. For-
soeth if the pastours or shepeherdes onely were the
flocke of Christe, then myght thys frendeshyp ryght
well be vnderstanded of them onely. But for asmuch
as the laie and priuate persons ar as well of the flocke
of Christe as the other, thys frendeshyp parteineth vnto
them no lesse then to the other. And thys causeth

This friendship
refers to the
laity and clergy,

because both
belong to the
flock of Christ.

me (moste worthy counsaylours) not to feare the dis- 199
 pleasure of men in this behalfe; knoweynge for cer- This makes me
 tentie, that the greateste numbre of thys assemble are fear man's
 not free from this oppression that I speak of, and that displeasure.
 it is far vnlyke that a priuate persone, by no meanes
 worthy to be called to suche an assemble, shoulde be 204
 fauourably hereade and accepted of them whom God
 hath called to be counsaylours of a realme; and
 chiefly in a cause taxynge & blameyng (the iudges
 befor whom it is pleaded. I might well coniecte wyth
 my selfe, that I shoulde in this poynte be compted a For speaking in
 busy body,¹ and one that renneth before he is sent. this manner I
 But I am redi to suffer, not onli al such report, but may be counted
 euen the verye death also (if it shall please the al- a busybody, but
 mightie and euerlyueynge God to laye it vpon me) for I am ready to
 youre sakes, most worthy counsaylours, and the residue, suffer
 my naturall brothe[r]s of this noble realme. [leaf 4, back]
 anything for
 your sakes.

215

And here I proteste vnto you all, that the same The Spirit that
 Spirite that sent Ionas to the Niniuits, Daniel to the sent Christ and
 Babilonians, Nathan to Kyng Dauid, Achior vnto the prophets
 Holofernes, Iudith vnto the Priestes and Elders of the
 Iewes, the prophete to Ieroboam in Bethel, Iohn the 220
 Baptist vnto Herode, and Christ vnto the Iewes, wyt- witnesses that
 nesseth wyth my conscience that I renne not vnsent. I am sent
 For euen the same Spirit that sayd vnto Esaie, "Crye Esaie. 58.
 and sease not, declare vnto my people theyr wycked-
 nes;" cryeth also in my conscience, bydyng me not 225
 spare to tell the possessioners of this realme, that vn- to tell you pos-
 lesse they repente the oppression wherewyth they vexe sessors to repent
 the pore commons, and shew themselues, through loue, of your oppres-
 to be brothers of one father & membres of one body sions, and show
 wyth them, they shal not at the laste daye enherite yourselves
 wyth them the kyngdom of Christe, the Eldest Sonne brothers, of one
 of God the Father, whych hath by his Worde be- father, and
 gotten hym many brothers & coheritours in² his kyng- members of
 dom. Vnlesse, I saye, the possessioners of this realme one body.
 Unless you all
 repent of the

¹ Orig. boby² Orig. is

violence done to
the poor, you
will be cast into
outer darkness.

238 wyll repent the violence don to the poore and nedy
membres of the same, and become as handes, ministryng
vnto euery membre hys necessaries, they shall, at the
daye of theyr accompt, be bound hand and fote and
cast into vtter */da[r]*cknes, wher shal be wepyng,
wealyng, and gnashyng of teeth; that is, dolour and
payne, the greatnes wherof canne not be expressed
wyth tonge nor thought wyth herte. And thys much
more sayeth the Spirite. Vnlesse ye purge your
selues of this bloude, & stop the mouthes of the pore
that the voyce of theyr complayn[t]e come not vnto
myne eares, I wyl not prospere your counsayles in the
reformatiōs of those abhominaciōs which I shewed
vnto you, but wyll leaue you to the spirite of errour,
the prince of thys worlde, whose dearlinges ye are so
longe as ye seke not the welth of the nedy, but your
251 owne priuate commoditie.

[leaf 5]

Esaie. 59.
Unless you make
the poor to cease
from crying,
God will not
prosper your
reformatiōs,
but will leave
you in the power
of the prince of
this world.

These thynges hath the Spirite of God spoken.
Heauen and earth shal perish, but the wordes of the
Spirite shall not perysh, but be fulfilled. Nowe
herken you possessioners, and you rich men lyfte vp
your ears; ye stuards of the Lord, marke what com-
playntes are layede agaynste you in the hygh court of
258 the lyueyng God.

Now hear what
complaints are
made against you
in heaven:

Lord, hast thou
forgotten us?

While the wicked
man grows proud
[See Psalm x.]
the poor are
afflicted.

Would God the
wicked might
feel some of the
troubles he in-
vents for others.

“Lorde” (sayeth the Prophete) “hast thou forsaken
vs? Doest thou hyde thy selfe in the tym of our trou-
ble? Whylse the wycked waxe proud the pore man
is afflicted and troubled. Would to God the wicked
myght feale the same thinges that they inuent for
other. For the sinnere prayseth hym selfe in the
desyres of hys soule, and he extolleth and sette[t]h
forth the couetouse man. He prouoketh the Lorde and
267 is so proud that he wyll not seke hym. He neuer
thynketh vpon God. His wayes be defyled at all
tymes. He loketh not vpon thy iudgmentes, Lorde, he
270 wyll reuenge hym vpon all hys enimies.

"He thynketh thus wyth hym selfe, I wyll not remoue frome one generacion vnto an other wythout mischiefe. His mouth is full of malediction, and euill reporte, fraude & deceyte, and vnder his tonge is affliction and iniquitie.

He thinks he shall remain.

He is full of fraud and deceit.

275

"He lyeth in wayte wyth the riche men of the villages or graynges, in secrete corners, to the intent to slea the innocent. Hys eyes are fyxed vpon the pore; he layeth awayete euen as a lyon in his denne. He layeth awayte to take the pore man by force, and when he hath gotten him within hys reache, then wyll he take hym violentlye. In hys net will he ouerthrowe the pore, and through hys strength shall the multitude of the oppressed be ouer charged and fall. For in his herte he sayeth, God hath forgotten, God turneth a waye hys face, and wyll neuer regarde the oppression of the pore," etc., to the ende of the same Psalme.

[leaf 5, back]

He lies in wait in villages to slay the innocent, to take the poor man; and when he has taken him he uses him violently.

282

He says God has forgotten and has turned away His face.

287

What sentence (thinke you) wyll the Lorde geue vpon this euidence? No doubt (most worthy counsellers) euen the same that we reade in Esaye the Prophet:—"I loked for iudgment and rightouse dealeynge amongeste my people, and beholde there is

Esaie. 5.

iniquitie, I loked also for iustice, and beholde ther is an outcrys. Wo be vnto you therefore, that do ioyn house vnto house, & couple one felde to an other, so longe as there is any grounde to be had. Thinke you that you shal dwel vpon the earth alone? The Lorde of hostes (sayth the prophete) hath spoken these wordes vnto me. Manye large and goodlye houses shall be deserte & without inhabitantes; x acres of wyne shall yelde but one quarte of wine, and xxx bushelles of sede shal yelde but x bushelles agayne." Beholde, you engrossers of fermes and teynements, beholde, I saye, the terrible threatnynges of God, whose wrath you can not escape. The voyce of the pore (whom you

292

The sentence God will give against those who join house to house and field to field; against such as oppress instead of dealing justly:—

Many houses shall be desolate, ten acres of vines shall only yield one quart, and 30 bushels of seed shall only yield ten.

304

- [leaf 6] haue with money (thruste out of house and whome) is
 307 well accepted in the eares of the Lorde, and hath
 steared vp hys wrath agaynste you. He threateneth
 you most horrible plagcs. Ten acres of vynes shal
 yelde but one quarte of wyne, and xxx bushelles of
 sede but x bushelles agayne. The sede of Goddes
 Worde sown in youre hertes shalbe barrayne and not
 bringe fourth fruite.
- The seed of
 God's Word
 shall remain
 barren in your
 hearts.
- 314 For couetous, the rote of all yuelles, occupieth that
 groundes so that the heauenlie sede can bi no meanes
 geue encrease. This is a plage, of al plagcs most
 horribly. And doubt ye not, you lease mongers, that
 take groundes by lease to the entente to lette them out
 agayne for double and tryple the rent, your parte is in
 this plage.¹ The Lorde shal take his Spirite from you.
- God will punish
 you "lease
 mongers" who
 take lands that
 you may let
 them out again,
- 321 He shall forbyd the cloudes of hys mercy to rayne vpon
 you wyth the swete dwe of hys grace. And you sur-
 ueighers² of landes, that of x. li. lande can make xx,
 you shall not be forgotten in the effucion of thys plage.
- and you survey-
 ors, that of ten-
 pound land make
 twenty.
- When you have
 raised your rents
 to the highest,
- 327 slaues to labour, and toyle, and bringe to you all that
 maye be plowen and digged out of youre groundes,
 then shal death sodaynly strike you, then shall God
 wythdrawe his comfortable grace from you, then shall
 your conscience prycke you, then shall you thynke
 with desparat Cain, that your sinne is greater then that
 it may be forgeuen. For your owne conscience shall
 iudge you worthy no mercye, because you haue shewed
 no mercy. Yea the same enimie that hath kendled
 and doeth yet maynetayne in you thys mischeuouse,
 outragious, and vnsaciable couetousnes, shall then bee
 as busy to put you in mynde of the wordes of Christ,
 saienge, "the same measure that you haue made vnto
 340 other, shalbe nowe made vnto you."
- and you will
 think yourselves
 unworthy of
 mercy, because
 you have shown
 no mercy.
- [leaf 6, back]

¹ Orig. palge² Orig. surneighers

You haue shewed no mercye, howe can you than 341

loke for mercie? Oh noble counsailours, be mercyfull

to your selues. Destroye not your owne soules to en-
riche your heires. Enlarge not your earthly posses-
sion wyth the losse of the eternall enheritaunce.

Do not destroy
your souls to
enrich your
heirs.

Learne to knowe the estate that God hath called you 346

vnto, & to lyue accordinge to your profession. Know

that you are al ministres in the common weale, and

Remember you
are ministers in
the common-
wealth.

that the porcion which you are borne vnto, or that

your prince geueth you, is your estate. Knowe that

Your duty is to
distribute, and
not scrape
together.

your office is to distribute & not to scrape together on

heapes. God hath not sette you to suruey hys landes,

but to playe the stuardes in his householde of this 353

world, and to se that your pore felow seruantes lacke

not theye[r] necessities.

Consider that you are but ministers and seruantes

You are only
servants, and
will have to give
an account of
your adminis-
trations.

vnder the Lorde oure God, and that you shal render a

streyght accompt of your administracion. Stand not

to much in your own conceyte, gloriynge in the worthy-

nesse of your bloude; for we are all one mans chyl- 360

dren, and haue (by nature) lyke ryght to the richesse

and treasures of thys worlde, whereof oure natural

father Adame was made Lord and Kinge. Which of

you can laye for hym selfe any naturall cause whye he

shoulde possesse the treasure of this wor[l]de, but *that* 365

the same cause may be founde in hym also whome you

make your slaue? By nature (therefore) you can

By nature you
can only claim
[leaf 7]
what you earn.

claime no thynge but that whiche you shall gette with

the swet of your faces. That you are lordes and

That you are
lords comes by
ordinaunce, not by
nature.

gouernours therfore, commeth not by nature but by the

ordinaunce & appoyntment of God. Knowe then that

he hath not cauled you to the welthe and glorie of this 372

worlde, but hath charged you wyth the greate and rede

multitude.

And if any of them perishe thorowe your defaute,

If any poor
perish through
Ezech. 33.

knowe then for certentye, that the bloude of them

your neglect,
their blood will
be required at
your hands.

shalbe required at your handes. If the impotent
creatures perish for lacke of necessaries, you are the
murderers, for you haue theyr enheritaunce and do
minister vnto them.

If they steal, you
are the cause,
because you haue
enclosed all the
lands.

If the sturdy fall to stealeyng, robberyng, & reueynge,
then are you the causers therof, for you dygge in,
enclose, and wytholde from them the earth out of the
whych they should dygge and plowe theyr lyueynge.
For as the Psalmiste wryteth :—" All the heauen is the
Lordes ; but as for the earth hee hath geuen to the
chyldrene of men."

Psal. 113.

387

The whole earth therfor (by byrth ryght) be-
longeth to the chyl dren of men. They are all in-
heritours therof indifferently by nature.

You are ap-
pointed to give
meat to God's
household.

But because the sturdy shoulde not oppresse the
weake and impotent, God hath apoynted you stuards to
geue meate vnto his housholde in due seasons. And if

394 you be founde faythfull in this littel, then knowe that
he wyll preferre you to much greater thinges. But if
ye bee founde oppressing your felowe seruauntes, then
knowe for certentie, that the Lorde your Maister shall
at hys comeynge rewarde you wyth many strypes.
Call to your remembraunce the History of Kynge
Nabuchodonosor, whoe for his presumption became as a
brute beast, fead[ing] vpon grasse and hey as other
beastes dyd.

Luke .12.
Daniel .4.
[leaf 7, back]
Remember
Nebuchadnezzar,
who became a
beast,

403 Consyder Pharaon with his great armie, whom the
Lord ouerwhelmed in the Red Sea for oppresseyng and
persecuteyng his people. Yea, consider all the nobilitie
that haue possessed the erth, euen from the begynnyng ;
and then saye howe you bee theyr successours, & by
what title you may cleyme that which was theirs.

and Pharaon,
whom the Lord
drowned in the
Red Sea.

The Romans held
all Europe and
part of Africa
and Asia, and
where are their
successors ?

Many hundred yeres sence the noble Romans helde
all Europa and parte of Affrike and Asia in quiete pos-
session ; and where are they that succeade them in
theyr impier ?

The brutishe Gothes inuaded and vanquished the impier of Rome; and wher are they successours? Who are the successors of the Goths?

What shoulde I stande in the rehersale of the greate possessioners that haue hertofore possessed the erth, whose lynial descent can not be founde? It shall suffice me to remyt you to the wordes of the Lorde vnto Nabuchodonosor, whyche are written in the boke of Daniel the Prophete. 415

Ther shall you learne that it is God that geueth the impiere to whome it pleaseth hym; and that all powre is from aboue, accordynge to the answer that our sauoure Christe made vnto Pilate, when he bragged hym wyth the powre that he had to crucifie hym and to deliuer hym. "Thou shouldest," sayed our Sauour, "haue no powre ouer me at all, were it not geuen the from aboue." *Dani.* 4.
All empire is from God, and He gives it to whom He will, as Christ said to Pilate.
424
John 19.
428

Thus is it euident vnto you (moste worthy counsaylours) that your powre and estate cometh frome aboue; and that by nature you can cleyme nothyng of the possessions of this worlde, more then that whyche you gette wyth the swet of your faces. Thus it is clear all your power and property come from above. [leaf 8]
433

I doubt not therfore but that your consciences do condesende and agre vnto that which I haue spoken concernynge your office and ministerie; knoweynge that God hath appointed you to minister necessities to the impotent, and to defende the innocent. I do not doubt but that in your consciences you agree to what I have said.
438

Do not therfore neglect thys principalle poynt of your dutie, to seke in this parliament a redresse of thys great oppression, wherwyth the pore membres of this noble realme ar most vnmercifully vexed on euery side. Do not neglect your duty, but redress this oppression.
438

The lande lordes for theyr partes, suruey and make the vttermost peny of al their growndes, bysydes the vnreasonable fynes and incomes, and he that wyll not or can not geue all that they demaunde, shall not enter, be he neuer so honest, or stande he neuer so greate neede. Landlords make the uttermost penny of their grounds, besides fines and incomes;
448

Yea, though he haue ben an honeste, true, faythfull

and when a
tenant's lease
runs out they
make him pay
a great sum, or
else he must
vacate in haste.

and quiete tenant many yeres, yet at the vacation of his
copie or indentur he must paye welmoste as muche as
woulde purchayse so much grownde, or else voide in
hast, though he, his wyfe and chyldrene, shoulde
453 perishe for lacke of harbour.

The mischiefs
that flow from
such oppression
to men, women,
and children, are
fearful.

What a sea of mischifes hath floued out of thys
more then Turkyshe tyranie! What honeste hous-
holders haue ben made folowers of other not so honest
mens tables! What honeste matrones haue ben
brought to the needy rocke and cardes! What men-

459 chyldrene of good hope in the liberall sciences, and
other honeste qualities (wherof this realme hath great
[leaf 8, back] lacke), haue ben compelled to fal, some to handy-
crafts, and some to daye labour, to sustayne theyr
parents decrepet age and miserable pouertie! What

464 frowarde and stoubourn children haue herby shaken of
the yoke of godly chastisement, rennyng hedlonge
into all kyndes of wickednes, and finally garnyshed
galowe trees! What modeste, chaste, and womanly
virgins haue, for lacke of dourie, ben compelled, either
469 to passe ouer the days of theyr youth in vngrate serui-
tude, or else to marye to perpetuall miserable pouertie!

Young men
garnish the
gallows;

young women
are made
"Sisters of the
Bank,"

and die in the
streets.
Universal
destruction comes
upon our noble
realm by the
covetousness of
surveyors.

What immodestè and wanton gyrles haue hereby ben
made sisters of the Banck (the stumbling stock of all
frayle youth) and finally, moste miserable creatures,
lyeing and dieynge in the stretes ful of all plages and
penurie! What vniuersall destruction chaunceth to
this noble realme by this outragious and vnsaciable
desyr of the surueiers of landes! I reporte me to you
(moste Christian counsayellours) which ar here assembled
from all partes of this noble realme, to consulte for the
480 welth of all the membres of the same.

Some obtain
leases of houses,
and then raise
the rents to
tenants.

On the other syde, ther bee certayne tenauntes, not
able to be lande lordes, and yet, after a sorte, they
conterfayte landelordes, by obtaynyge¹ leases in and

¹ Orig. obtaynydge

vpon groundes and tenementes, and so reyse fynes, 484
 incomes, and rentes ; and by suche pyllage pyke out a
 porcion to mayntayne a proude porte, and all by
 pylynge and pollynge of the poore commons, that must
 of necessaite seke habitations at their handes. 488

That this is true, I report me to my Lorde the
 Maire, and other the hed officers of the Citie of Lon-
 don, whoe (if they be not ignorant of the state of the
 Citie) can witnes with me that the moste parte, yea I
 thinke ix of the x partes, of the houses in London
 bee set and let by them that haue them by lease and
 not by the owners. 495

Nine-tenths of
 the houses in
 London are
 let in this way.
 [leaf 9]

Howe thei polle the pore tenants would sone be
 tryed, if theyr leases were conferred with theyr rent-
 rolles. It is not to be thought contrary but that the
 greate leasmungers haue greate gains by their leases, for
 the litleons, that hold but a piece of houseing of xx. or
 xxx s. by yere, can fynde the meanes to holde and dwell 501
 vpon the chiefe parte therof rent fre, by letyng out
 the residue for the whole yerely rent.

How they impose
 upon the tenants
 would soon be
 seen if the leases
 and rent-rolls
 were compared.

I thinke not contrary, but these thinges do appeare
 in the syght of many to bee but verey trifles, and not
 worthy to be spoken of in so noble an assemble as this
 most honorable Parliament. For they are no mattiers
 concernyng the welth of the nobilitie ; yea it is rather
 hyndrance to many of them, to haue these thynges
 redressed, then any encrease of theyr wealth. 510

These things
 appear to be
 trifles which do
 not concern the
 nobility and seem
 to be unworthy
 of notice by the
 Parliament.

Yea euen you (moste Christian counsaylours) whych
 are here assembled to debate the weightie mattiers of
 thys realme, are not all so free from this kynde of
 oppression, but that you could be well contented to
 wyneke at it. And therfor, for asmuche as the inor-
 dinate loue of men towarde them selues is such, that
 eyther they can not se theyr owne fauts, or else if they
 do se them or be tolde of them, they take them not to
 be so great as they are in dede ; I thinke it no 515
 519

Even you, Chris-
 tian Councillors,
 are not all so free
 from this op-
 pression, but you
 would rather
 wink at it ;

so I shall not
wonder if you
laugh at my fool-
hardiness and
[leaf 9, back]
rashness in
entering upon
this subject,
because men do
not agree to such
things as will
diminish their
profits.

meruayle, though such of you (most worthy counsaylours) as haue any profite by this oppression, do wythin them selues deride and laugh to scorne my fole hardines and rashe enterpryse herein, knoweynge that it is not the vse of them that bee assembled to the intent to establish such thynges as shall be for the welth of a whole realme, to condescende and agree to those thynges whych shallbe disprofitable vnto the chiefe

528 membres of the same.

What I have
said is for the
profit of the
whole realme.

Truth it is (moste worthy counsailours), I myght well and worthyly be laughed at if I woulde attempte any suche thynge. But the thynge that hytherto I haue spoken of is not to the disprofite of any, but to the greate commoditie and profite of all the whole

534 realme.

The upper mem-
bers of the body
should clothe the
lower members
from any harm
which might
happen to them
in their carrying
the body about,—

For what discommoditie is it to the heade, shoulders, the armes, and other the vpper membres of the body, beynge all redy sufficiently clothed, to put on the legges & feete a peare of hose and shoes to defende them also from the iniuries of the wether, and other hurtes that might chaunce vnto them in theyr trauaylyng to cary the body from place to place, for hys commoditie and pleasure? Verily in myne opinion, that body is far vnworthy to haue either legges or feete that wyll lette them goe bare, haueyng wher-

545 wyth to couer them.

so you, the chief
members, should
provide for those
members beneath
you, and give
them a portion of
the riches which
you possess.

Euen so you, beynge the chiefe membres of this noble realme, and haueing in your handes the wonderful and incomparable riches of the same, what shoulde it greue you to departe wyth some porcion therof, that the inferioure membres therof may at all tymes bee

551 able to do theyre ministerie and office accordyngly.

Bear in mind
that the body
without the legs
is only like a
[leaf 10]
block, and cannot
move; so you, if

Once remembre, that as the body wythout the inferiour partes is but lame and as a blocke vnweldy, and muste, if it wyll remoue frome place to place, creepe vpon the handes; euen so you, if ye had not the pore

membres of this realme to tyll the grounde and doe your other droudgerie, no remedy, you must nedes do it your selues.

you had not the poor to till the ground, must do it yourselves.

Vse them therefore as the necessarie membres of the mystical body of this most noble realme, and be not in this poynt mor vnnatural then the heathen Philosophers were.

Therefore you must use the poor as members of this realm, else you will be more unnatural than the heathen,

They in theyr writtynges declare no lesse then I haue here written.

564

This ought not a lytle to moue you, beyng Christians (whose Redemer, Iesu Christ, sitte[t]h at the right hande of God his Father) to study, not onely to be equale wyth, but to pas the heathen and vnchristined in this mattier, euen as farre as the excellencie of the name and religion which we professe passeth theyrs.

whom, as Christians, you ought to surpass.

570

Remembre (most Christian counsaylours) that you are not onely naturally membres of one bodi with the pore creaturs of this realme, but also by religion you ar membres of the same misticall body of Christe, whoe is the heade of vs all (his membres), and estemeth all that is done to the leste of vs his membres as done to hym selfe. For he sayeth :—

By religion you are all members of Christ's body,

574

and Christ esteems what is done to His members as done to Himself.

“What so euer ye do to one of the lest of these

Mat. 25.

litleons that beleue in me, ye doe it vnto me.” If you therefore, neither wil your selves oppresse our Sauour Christe in his membres, nor suffer other to do it, fayle not to fynde a redres of this greate oppression, whych I haue declared to the same ende. And then I doubt not but God shall so worke wyth you, that euerie man

If you will not oppress Christ through His members, redress these wrongs, and then every man will assist you in reforming religion.

584

shall wyllingly embrace a reformation of all mattiers of religion. For the Spirit of God shall dwell in you and in vs all, and Christe himself (as he hath promised) shall bee in the myddes amonge you. Wher as, contrariwise, if you suffer our loueing Sauour thus to be oppressed, he wyll forsake you, he wyll leaue you to the spirite of errour. Your reformacions shal take no

[leaf 10, back]

If you oppress the poor, Christ will forsake you and leave you to a spirit of error.

592 place. All your diuises shall be abhominable in his syght, because ye haue not purged your handes from the bloude of this oppression.

Don't make laws like some which have been made in this place by a previous Parliament.

Let the decrees whych were establyshed in thys place by a Parliament assembled for a lyke purpose be your president, not to folow, but to beware by them that ye establish not the lyke.

The intent of that assemble was no lesse to refourm the abuses of our religion then thys is. But because Christe was not deliuered frome oppression he woulde

602 not be amonge them.

They did not meet in Christ's name, but rather against him. 1. *Epist.* 4.

They were not congregated in hys name, but rather agaynste hym and hys doctrine, for he hym selfe is dear loue, & (as his Apostle Iohn writeth) wher this dear loue is not, ther is not he. Thys thyng is well

607 proued by theyr proceedynges in the same Parliament.

Articles were established against God's Word, forbidding marriage, and separating the married.

For they established Articles euen directly agaynst Gods worde, forbedyng to mary, and commaund-ynge to put asunder those that God hath ioyned together.

You will, I doubt not, call these articles in question.

If you wyll call these Articles into question agayne (as in dede you haue iuste occacion to do) I doubt not but you shal be fully perswaded that they proceeded of

615 the spirit of erreure, and not of the Spirite of God; because the charitie of God was not amonge them in that assemble.

[leaf 11]
Christ's poor members are oppressed in other things.—I am unwilling to mention them lest I should offend with the multitude of words.
Some you know: as extortion and usury, authorized by Parliament;

Other thynges therbe wherby the pore membres of Christe in thys noble realme are oppressed; wherof I haue made no mention, partely because I am loth to offende wyth the multitude of my rude wordes, & partely for that I know you can not seke for a redres of these thynges wherof I haue spoken. But the other wil offer them selues vnto you, I meane the greate extortion and vsurie that reigneth frely in thys realme, and seme to be authorised by Parliament wythin these

627 .iiii. yeres laste paste.

The Cleargie of the Citie of London haue, for the clergy over-
 theyr parte, optayned by Parliament authoritie to tithe, and for
 ouertenthes euen after the exem[ple] of the landlordes double rent
 and leasemongers, and maye, by the vertue of the acte, demand double
 requir for double rentes double tenthes. If the rent of tenths.
 any kynde of housyng or grounde wythin the Citie of 631
 London be raised (as ther is in dede veri much) from
 x.s to xx.s, than may the persone (whoe had before
 but xvi.d.ob.), by the vertu of this act demaunde 636
 .ii.s. ix.d, the double. Bysydes this, the exactions that
 they take of the pore commons is to much beyonde al
 reason and conscience. No couple can be married
 but these men must haue a dutie, as they cal it. No
 woman may be purified but they and theyr ydle
 ministers must haue some duties of hir. None can
 be buried but they wyl haue a slyese. Not thre
 monethes before the begynnyng of this present Parlia-
 ment, I had iust occacion to be at the payment of this
 dutie for the buryng of an honest pore man, whose
 frendes wer willing to haue hys body reuerendly layed
 in the grounde; and, accordyng to the custome, gaue
 warnyng to the curate that they woulde brynge the
 deade body to the church, desyryng hym that he wolde
 do hys dutie, and to be ther to receye it, and accord-
 ynge to the custome to laye it in the grounde. But
 this rauen, smellynge¹ the carion, coulde not but
 reueile it to the other carion byrdes of the same
 chur[c]h, and so woulde needes come all together in a
 flocke to fetch theyr praye, wyth crosse and holy water
 as they were wont to do, not wythstandynge the
 Kynges Iniunctions and late visita[t]ion. The frendes
 of the deade man refused all this, and required to haue
 no mor but the commune coffen to put the bodye in,
 agreynge to paye to the keper therof hys accustomed
 dutie, and in lyke maner to the graue maker, and the

They exact money
from the poor

for marriages,

churchinge,

642

burials.

(How the clergy
acted at St
Sepulchre's
Church

648

[leaf 11, back]

652

in the City of
London,

657

when an honest
poor man

was brought to
be buried

¹ Orig. smellydge.

fourre pore men to cary the bodye, so that the whole
664 charges had ben but vii.d.

in St Sepulchre's,
London.)

But when the corps was buried, wythout other
crosse or holy water sticke, Dirige, or. Masse, wyth
prayers of as small deuocion as any pore curate could
saye, yet must we nedes paye .vii.d. more. That is to
669 saye .i.d. to the curate, which he called an heade
penye,¹ and .vi.d. to .ii. clarkes that we had no nede of.

This was done in
London, and I am
ready to prove
the truth of the
statement any-
where.

This was done in Sepulchres paryshe in the Citie
of London. And if it shall please any of thys noble
assemble to trye the trueth of this, I wyll verifie it
where so euer I shall be called, euen in the presence of

675 all the ydle ministers of the same church.

I have mentioned
this circumstance
because I think
we ought to have
ministers sup-
ported by tithes,
or else be allowed
[leaf 12]
to do the duties
ourselves.

This haue I written (most worthy counsaylours) to
geue you occasion to set suche an ordre in this and
suche other thynges, that eyther we may haue ministers
founde vppon the tenthes that we paie yerli to the
churches, other els that it may be leafull for vs to do
such ministeries our selues, and not to be thus con-
682 strained to feede a sorte of carion crowes, whyche are
neuer so mery as when we lament the losse of our
frendes.

Thus much of the
extortion of the
clergy.

I will now speak
of the usury
which prevails.

689 This much haue I spoken of the extortion that
reigneth frely in the Clergie. Nowe, with your
pacience, I wil, wth like breuitie, speak of the great
and intollerable usurie, whych at this daie reigneth so
frely this realme ouer al, and chiefly in the Citie of
London, that it is taken for most leaful gaines. Yea
it is welmost heresie to reprove it, for men saye it is
alowed by Parliament. Well, the most parte, I am
sure, of this most Godly assemble and Parliament do
knowe that the occasion of the acte that passed here
concernynge usurie, was the unsaciable desyre of the
usurers, whoe coulde not be contented with usurie
vnlesse it wer vnreasonable muche. To restrayne thys

It is almost
heresy to speak
against it because
it is allowed by
Parliament.

The Act was
passed on ac-
count of the
greed of the
usurers, and
interest was
limited to ten
per cent.

¹ Orig. pedye

gredy desyre of theyrs, therefore, it was communed and 698
agreed vpon, and by thauthoritie of Parliament de-
creed, that none should take aboue .x. li. bi yere,¹ for
the lone of an .C. li.

Alas, *that* euer any Christian assemble shoulde bee Alas, that any
Assembly should
allow what God
forbids!
so voyde of Gods Holy Spirit *that* thei should alowe
for leafull any thyng that Gods Worde forbedeth.
Be not abashed (most worthy counsaylours) to *call* this 705
act into question agayne. Scan the wordes of the Consider the
subject again,
Psal. 14.
and see what the
Psalmist says.
From his words,
the man who
does not
give his money
upon usury shall
enter heaven.
[leaf 12, back]
Psalmist concernyng this mattier. "Lord," sayeth he, 713
"who shal enter into thy tabernacle, and who shal rest
in thy holy mountaine?" He answereth: "That
entreth *without* spot & worketh righte. That speaketh
truth in his herte, & hath not deceiued *with* his tonge;
that hath done his neybour no harme, nor accepted any
reproch against his neibour. He regardeth not the
wicked, but them that feare the Lorde he glorifieth and
prayseth. He that swereth to his neibour & deceineth
hym not. He that hath not geuen his money vnto
vsury, and hath not taken giftes and rewardes against
the innocent."

If you (most Christian counsaylours) do glory in
the knowledge of Gods Spirite, whoe hath spoken
these wordes by the Prophet, how can you suffer this
acte to stande, whych shalbe a wittnesse agaynste you
in the later daye that you alowe that which Gods
Spirite forbideth? How can you
allow this Act to
stand?
It shall be a
witness against
you in the Last
Day.

If he that geueth not hys money to usury shal 725
dwell in the Lords tabernacle, wher shal he dwel that
geueth his money to usuri? Shal he not be shut out,
& caste into vtter darcknes? Their workes be con-
trary, & why shoulde not theyr rewarde be also con-
trary? If the one be receyued in, the other muste be
shut out. Yea, and you that haue made this lawe,
Usurers must be
shut out of
heaven, and those
who made the
law allowing

¹ See *Supplication of the poore Commons*, ed. J. M. Cow-
per, p. 84, 'Men myghte take x li. by yeaere,' &c.

usury, unless you vnlesse you do reuoke it and establysh an act to the contrary, the Brydegroume, the onely Sonne of God,

734 shal at the laste daye deny you, and saye that he neuer knewe you; "Depart from me," shal he saye, "al ye workers of iniquitie." Scanne the wordes of the Prophete therfore, and scanne the wordes of oure

738 Sauoure Christe also, in the vi. of Luke, wher he sayeth thus:—"Do you lende¹ lokynge for no gaynes therof, and your rewarde shalbe plentiuouse, and you shall be sonnes of the Hygheste, because he is gentle & liberal toward the vnthankfull and wicked."

Christ bids you lend, looking for nothing again, and you shall be the children of God.

743 I am not ignoraunt what glosses haue ben made vpon this place, and howe men haue wrested & made it no precept but a counsaile of our Sauour; & therfore not to infer necessitie to Christians, but to leaue them at libertie either to do it or leaue it vndone.

Men haue wrested this [leaf 18] saying, and made it no precept, but only a counsel of Christ.

What religion do these men profess?

Oh mercifull Lorde, what maner of religion is it that these men professe?

They boast them selues to bee the disciples of
751 Christe and setters forthe of his glorie.

They bear Christ's name, and yet think they may choose whether they will follow His counsel or not; those who do not hear His voice are none of His;

They wyll beare the name of hym and be called Christians, and yet wylbe at libertie to chose whether they luste to folowe hys counsayle or leaue it vndone.

Our shepherd Christe, of whose flocke they boaste them selues to bee, sayeth that hys sheepe heare his voyce and folowe hym.

John .10. And immediatly before he sheweth the cause why the Iewes dyd not credyt hys wordes, to be none other
760 but that thei wer not his shepe.

but they who teach that men are at liberty to practise Christ's counsels or not, as they may see fit, are

And doubte ye not (moste worthy counsaylours) what so euer he is that wyll defende or teach, that any one lytle iote of the counsayles of Christ shoulde be so vaynly spoken that any of hys flocke myght refuse to
765 practise the same in hys lyuynge to the vttermoste of hys power, is nolesse then a membre of the Deuell, and a verey Antichriste.

members of the devil and verey Antichrists.

¹ Orig. lenve.

For he that desyreth not in hys herte to practise in 768
his lyueynge all the counsayles of Christe our Maister
and Teacher, shall be numbred amonge the obstinate
Iewes for none of the flocke of Christ, because he
heareth not his voice nor foloweth him. Thus I mak
an ende.

and shall be
numbered with
the Iews.

773

Wyshyng vnto you (most worthy counsaylours) *the* May the Spirit
same Spirit that in *the* primitiue church gaue vnto the which dwelt
multitude of beleuers one herte, one mynde, & to in the primitive
esteme nothyng of this worlde as theyr owne, minis Church dwell in
trynge vnto euerie one accordyng to his necessities; [leaf 13, back]
that you, led by the same Spirite, may at the lestweye *Actu. 4.*
ordeine such a lawe that the oppresion of the pore you, and cause
reigne not frely amonge them that beare the name of you to make a
Christians. But if they wyll be styll oppressyng the law preventing
pore membres of Christ, after once or twyse admoni oppression; and
cion, let them no more be named Christians after Christ 780

if men will still
oppress let such
be called Mam-
monistes and not
Christians.

whom thei serue not, but Mammonistes after Mammon whose badge they beare. And this reformation had, no 786
doubt the maiestie of God shall so appere in all your
decrees, *that* none so wicked a creatur shalbe founde so
bolde as once to open his mouth against the ordre that
you shal take in al matters of religion. Yea, the verie
enimies of Dauid shall do omage vnto Solomon for 791
his wisdom. Al the Kynges christined shal learne at
you to reforme theyr churches. You shalbe euen the
light of al the world.

Then all kings
shall learn of you,
and you shall be
the light of the
world.

But, if you let these thynges pas and regarde them If you do not,
not, be ye sure the Lorde shal confound your wisdom. God will confound
Inuent, decre, establysh, and authorise what you can; your wisdom, no
al shal come to nought. The wayes that you shall matter what you
inuent to establish vnitie and concorde shal be the decree. 798
occasions of discorde. The thynges wherby you shal
thinke to 'wyn prayse through all the worlde, shall
turne to your vtter¹ shame; and *the* wayes *that* you shall 802

¹ Orig. vnter.

803

inuent to establish a kyngdome shalbe the
vtter subuersion of the same. The mer-
cifull Father of our Lorde Iesus
Christe indue you wyth hys
Spirit, that you be not par-
takers of these plagis.

God give you
His Spirit.

Amen.

Amen.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

- ABYE, 51/1524, abide, expiate.
 Disparage not the faith thou dost
 not know,
 Lest, to thy peril, thou *aby* it dear.
 Mid.-Sr. N. Dr. iii. 2, l. 176
 (Globe ed.).
 Agime ziphres, 73/571 ?
 Allayes; 9/137, 10/161, alleys.
 Bowling-alleys in which the game
 of bowls was played; alleys, lanes
 or courts in the city of London.
 Allyes, 132/84, alleys.
 Apointe, 137/273, arrange with.
 Armore, 18/426, ?armourer.
 Ascoye, 43/1271, askew, askance,
 side-ways.
 Babbelars, 103/119. See Acts
 xvii. 18.
 Bable, 32/884, bauble.
 Baliwike, 43/1257, the jurisdic-
 tion of a bailiff.
 Ballyng, 83/27, bawling.
 Banck, 166/472, sisters of the
 Bank, prostitutes, inhabitants of
 Bankside.
 Barre, to cast the bar, 73/33.
 See *note*, p. xvii.
 Base, to run base, 73/35. See
 note, p. xvii.
 Bealies, 132/92, bellies.
 Bearwardes, 17/388.
 Beastish, 144/505, beastlike,
 brutish.
 Bested, 60/19, circumstanced.
 See *Chaucer, C. T.*, 5069, and
 Isaiah viii. 21.
 Betruisted, 30/823, trusted.
 Bisemeyng, 95/14, beseeming.
 Bityme, 72/66, betimes, in time.
 Bler, 70/12, blear.
 Brast, 132/8, burst.
 Breutie, 172/687, brevity.
 Bridle-rayne, 95/6, bridle-rein.
 Brynke, 16/364, brink, brim.
 By, 101/75, be.
 By yere, 173/700, for a year.
 Byll, 29/800, bill, a petition.
 Candle, to hold the, 130/21, phr.
 Cardes, 166/458 ?
 Cessions, 94/143, sessions.
 Checkinge, 139/348.
 Christined, 175/792, christened.
 Cocke and Pye, 19/469, a petty
 oath. See *Merry Wives of W.* i. 1,
 l. 316 (Globe ed.).
 Coheritours, 159/233, coheirs.
 Commone, 155/73, commune.

- Commotionars, 22/555, commotioners, men who cause commotions or tumults.
 Condynges, 81/63, condign, "that is, according to merit, worthy, suitable." *Phillips*.
 Coniecte, 159/208, conjecture.
 Cormerauntes, 131/69, cormorants.
 Costuouse, 91/30, costly.
 Couetise, 26/690, covetousness.
 Crake, 81/62, crack, boast of.
 Crowmes, 132/95, crumbs.
 Days, offering days, 155/88, certain days on which offerings were made to the Church.
 Dearlinges, 160/249, darlings.
 Destituted, 132/104, made destitute, deprived.
 Dirige, 172/666.
 Disconforte, 111/81, discomfort.
 Disprofitable, 168/527, unprofitable.
 Dorepostis, 111/93, door-posts: "deaf as a door-post," a common phrase.
 Dyprease, 32/898, dispraise.
 Earely, 94/134, early.
 Eer, 88/91, ever.
 Effucion, 162/324, effusion.
 Emong, 12/239, among.
 Entermel, 32/904, intermeddle.
 Euerychone, 89/113, each one, every one.
 Fere, 88/76, in fere, in common.
 Forestall, 34/972, to buy goods on their way to market.
 Forestallers, 34/965, men who bought corn or cattle or goods of any kind as they were on their way to a market or fair, and then sold them again at a higher price.
 Forlore, 99/131, lost.
 Fryses, 33/933, friezes, woollen cloths or stuffs originally from Friesland.
 Gate, 44/1275, gait.
 Gossepes, 103/142, gossips.
 Graue maker, 171/662.
 Graynges, 161/277, granges.
 Gulles, 131/69.
 Hadland, 13/266, headland.
 Harbour, 113/140, shelter.
 Haulke, 73/29, hawk.
 Head penny, 172/669.
 Herbour, 8/99, harbour, shelter, lodging.
 Herte rote, 19/464, heart root.
 Houseing, 167/500. *See* Housynge.
 Housel, 155/85, the Sacrament.
 Housynge, 116/271, shelter, houses—probably for *housen*, an old plural of house still in use in Northamptonshire.
 Imperye, 99/137, empire, rule, power.
 Ioynt, 154/22, joint. Phr., "out of joint."
 Iuell, 19/454, evil.
 Leafull, 157/153, lawful.
 Lestweye, 175/779, "leastways."
 Lette, 139/328, let, a hindrance.
 Leyes, 50/1500, leys, leas, pastures for cattle.
 Lite, 88/70, little.
 Littleons, 167/500, 169/579, little ones.
 Liuear, 140/378, liver.
 Liuelode, 65/51, livelihood.

- Loselles, 112/121, lozel, a lazy lubber.
- Luste, 174/754. *See* Lyste.
- Lyng, 13/276, ling, saltfish. Consult *The Babees Book* for information about ling and fish generally.
- Lyste, 157/154, list, like, choose.
- Malt, 114/201.
- Mammonists, 175/785.
- Markis, 116/251, a Mark was of the value of 13s. 4d.
- Maugrea, 62/86, maugre, in spite of.
- Mawe, 44/1294, maw, stomach.
- Meaners, 101/75, manners, † demeanours.
- Mell, 20/494, meddle.
- Morysh, 119/370, marshy.
- Mowe, 9/132, mow, a stack of corn.
- Mownde, 112/110, a boundary.
- Noble, 80/52, a coin of the value of 6s. 8d. *See Four Supplications*, Glossary in v. *noble*.
- Nownde, 112/110, for mound, a fence or hedge—boundary.
- Omage, 175/791, homage.
- Other, 172/665, either.
- Ouertenthes, 171/630, to overtithe, or over-tax.
- Pack, 11/195, number.
- Paisant, 141/423, Paisaunte, 142/460, peasant.
- Pardye, 123/502, *Par Dieu*, a common oath.
- Pas, 155/82, heed, care.
- Paste, 45/1316. The 'paste wife' was probably the woman who made the *pasts*, *partlets*, or ruffs then much worn. "Gay gownys and gay kyrtels, and mych waste in apparell, rynges, and owchis, wyth partelettes and *pastis* garnished wyth perle." More's *Supplycacyon of Soulys*, sig. L. ii., quoted in Halliwell's *Arch. Dict.*
- Peltrye, 46/1366. The word *pelt* is still in use in Kent, signifying *rubbish*, the sense in which *peltrye* is used here.
- Plowen, 162/328, plowed.
- Pold, 13/277, polled, robbed, cheated, polling, 20/506.
- Poppyshnes, 72/71, popishness.
- Porte, 167/486, bearing, carriage, or manner.
- Possessioners, 153/8, holders of large estates.
- Praye, 148/669, prey.
- President, 170/597, precedent.
- Priestyng, 155/68, the calling or duties of a priest.
- Primer, 71/55, a little book, which children are first taught to read. *Phillips*.
- Prollynge, 144/529, prowling, searching about.
Prol yng, and *pochyng* to get somewhat
At euery doore lumps of bread, or meat.
R. Copland's *Hye way to the Spyttel Hous*.
- Prouender, 141/379. "Provender pricketh them," a phrase used in *Newes out of Powles*, Sat. 6:
Ist meruaile though they cranckly crowe
well lodged in their cage?
With *prouen prickt*, yst meruaile now
That thus the Tigars rage?
The modern equivalent, applied to a restive horse, is "the oats prick him."
- Pryme, 91/23, prime, 6 a.m., one of the seven canonical hours.
- Pyld, 13/278, piled, spoiled.
- Quyte, 69/222, requite. *See* † *Tumb. the Great*, ii. 5.

- Reade, 32/894, 84/58, counsel, advice.
- Rede, 163/373, ?scattered. Halliwell has *Rede* (3), to spread abroad.
- Regester, 78/12, ?registrar.
- Reueynge, 164/381, ravening, taking by force, from the verb *to reve*.
- Rocke, 166/458, a distaff.
- Route, 91/6, to rule the rout, to rule the common people.
- Royall, 20/502, royal, or rial, a coin of the value of 10 shillings, first coined in the reign of Hen. VI. In the reign of Hen. VIII. the gold rial was ordered to go at 11s. 3d. In the 2nd of Elizabeth rials were coined at 15s. In the 3rd of James I. rose-rials of the value of 30s. were coined, and spur-rials at 15s. each. The *rial farthings* went at 2s. 6d. each in the reign of the "Tiger King."
- Salfe, 102/93, safe, or saved.
- Scan, 173/706, 174/736.
- Scase, 81/72, scarce. See Glossary to *England under H. VIII.*
- Schourges, 15/344, scourges.
- Shamefast, 131/53, shamefaced, modest.
- Shente, 38/1096, 86/24, ruined, destroyed.
- Shote, 155/79, shot, amount.
- Slyese, 171/643, slice.
- Smered, 154/53.
- Spittlehouse, 11/211, hospital.
- Stick, holy water stick, 172/666.
- Stockefyshe, 13/276, stockfish, saltfish dried. For much curious information concerning *Stockfish*, see Mr Furnivall's *Babees Book*.
- Stynt, 112/108, stint, stop.
- Swea, 94/133, sway, bear the sway, have rule.
- Tatyllars, 103/117, tattlers. See 1 Tim. v. 13.
- Thral, 87/32, make men thral, enthrall men.
- Thyne, 80/32, thin, weak.
- Tipillyng, 71/33, tippling.
- Tussocke, 44/1303, a heap.
- Typpet, a Tyburn tippet, 30/820, a halter.
 To weare
 A *Tiburne Tippet*, or old Stories cap.
 This is the high'st degree which they can take.
 Taylor's *Works*, fol. 287.
- Vaile, 17/392, avail, profit, advantage.
- Vitayls, 8/90, victuals.
- Vnchristined, 169/568, unchristened, unbaptized.
- Vndercaptaine, 147/641.
- Vngrate, 166/469, ?unbecoming.
- Vnweldy, 168/553, unwieldy.
- Wede, 113/140, clothing.
- Wel, 61/68, weal.
- Welmoste, 10/166, almost, well nigh, nearly.
- Whippets, 45/1331, ?short petticoats. See Halliwell's *Arch. Dict.*
- Wit, 55/8, blame.
- Wodmonger, 88/75, a dealer in wood.
- Yuelles, 162/314, evils.
- Ziphres, Agime ziphres, 73/571?

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

[Printed on one side only, to allow of each slip being cut off and gummed in the volume to which it refers.]

X. ANDREW BOORDE'S INTRODUCTION, &c.

- p. 18, note 7, after *day*, insert [of August]
p. 44, l. 4. The 'old writer' referred to was Roy, in his *Rede me and be not wroth*, p. 104-5 of Pickering's Reprint. The passage is quoted in my "Ballads from MSS," illustrating the Condition of Tudor-England, p. 82.
p. 57, note 3. 'my lord of chester' means 'the Abbot of St. Werburgh's.' E. A. Freeman in the *Saturday Review*, 10 Feb. 1872, p. 189, col. 1.
p. 116-17. On English changes of fashion, see the Society's *Four Supplications*, 1871, p. 51.
p. 156, l. 18. "Argentynne, we suppose, is Argentoratum or Strassburg." E. A. Freeman.
p. 165, note 1. "Andrew Borde does not at all speak as a Saxon heretic, but as a dutiful subject of King Henry the Eighth, who dedicates his book to that King's daughter. In the eyes of such a one the Saxons were praiseworthy in so far as they had cast off the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome, blameworthy in so far as they had fallen into the heretical innovations of Martin Luther." E. A. Freeman, *Saturday Review*, 10 Feb. 1872, p. 189, col. 2.
p. 194, last side-note; p. 362, col. 1, Emperor; for *Austria read Germany* (Charles V.).
p. 287, l. 6-7. The Hebreycyon, and-Cynomome. This saying is quoted in Cogan's *Haven of Health*, 1596, p. 109 (*N. & Q.*), and is not in the *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni* (as saith Riley's Dict. of Latin Quotations), in which however is a similar and well-known line, "Cur moriatur homo cui *salvia* cressit in horto?" Villanova, c. 60. Crokes, Sir Alex. 1830.—C. Innes Pocock.
p. 308, note 1, line 1, for *Ovium* read *Ædium*.
The short review of *Boorde* in the *North British Review*, No. 106, p. 559-61, notes that "his letters of the alphabet representing Hebrew numerals are given instead of the numerals themselves. . . . His Italian geography is full of confusion. He intimates that Jerusalem is out of Asia, and places Salerno [in Italy] in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Writing in 1542, he describes the mosque of St. Sophia as a Christian Church. Then again, his statements, pp. 77, 178, respecting St. Peter's at Rome, will not bear comparison with the graphic account left by his contemporary, Thomas, of the basilica, as it stood in the 16th century, grand and magnificent, though uncompleted. (*Historie of Italie*, ed. 1549, fol. 40.) Every detail supplied by Thomas, from the '80 steppes of square stone, the solemnest that I have seene,' to 'the newe buildyng [which] if it were finished, wolde be the goodliest thyng of this worlde,' stamps his description as authentic."

XII. ENGLAND IN HENRY VIII'S TIME.

For *Bunfyceyal*, *Bunfycys*, *Bunfyte*, read *Benefycyal*, etc.

XIII. FOUR SUPPLICATIONS:

- p. vii at foot; p. xiv. Mr E. Arber has since found a titleless copy of Simon Fish's "*Summe of the Scripture* out of the Dutch," in a little well-known volume of rare tracts in the British Museum. (See his Preface to his edition of Roy's *Rede me & be not wroth*, ed. 1871.) As this volume had been in the hands of most of our profest Bibliographers, the identification of Fish's treatise is no small credit to Mr Arber.
p. xvii. The mislaid Lambeth copy of the "Sheep-tract" was found soon after our print of it went to press.
p. 111, col. 2. Gnatonical: for "gnat-like" (copied unthinkingly by Mr Cowper from an edition of Foxe's *Martyrs*) read 'Deceitful in words; flattering; like a smellefeast or parasite.' Bullokar & Cockeram, in Todd's Johnson.
p. 114, col. 2, line 7, for *thimble read thurible*

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